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John Duke of Marlborough

Engraved by W. Bond, from an Original Portrait
Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
In the possession of Earl Spencer

MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

WITH HIS

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE:

COLLECTED FROM

THE FAMILY RECORDS AT BLENHEIM,

AND

OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES

ILLUSTRATED WITH

PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND MILITARY PLANS.

By WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.
ARCHDEACON OF WILTS.

SECOND EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.
1820.

Printed by Strahan and Spottiswoode,
Printers-Street, London.

TO

HIS GRACE

GEORGE SPENCER CHURCHILL,

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

PRINCE OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE,

MARQUESS OF BLANDFORD,

EARL OF SUNDERLAND,

BARON SPENCER, OF WORM-LEIGHTON,

AND

BARON CHURCHILL, OF SANDRIDGE.

118886

MY LORD;

It was my intention to publish this Work under the Auspices of your noble Father, both as a Testimony of Respect to him, and as a Tribute of Gratitude, for his liberal Communication of the family Records preserved at Blenheim. In consequence of his lamented loss, I have now to acknowledge a similar Obligation to your Grace, for confirming to me the use of those valuable Documents.

To your Grace, therefore, I have the Honour of inscribing these Memoirs, as the Representative of that great Man, from whom you derive the Title of Marlborough, and the Possession of Blenheim; and to whose Memory you have recently given a Proof of Veneration, by assuming the Name and Arms of Churchill.

I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's

Obedient and obliged Servant,

WILLIAM COXE.

Salisbury,
March 1. 1818.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

I CANNOT deliver this Work a second time to the Public, without expressing my grateful thanks for the favourable reception which it has experienced. Of this opportunity I have availed myself to render the Memoirs of our illustrious Warrior and Statesman as correct as possible, by rectifying a few errors and inadvertencies, which escaped me in the first impression. I have, however, the satisfaction to add, that in the numerous details, military and political, of so comprehensive an undertaking, I have on revision found no cause for any material alteration.

Bemerton,
Nov. 20. 1819.

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

It is a singular fact, that no authentic Life of John Duke of Marlborough has been given to the public, especially when we reflect on the abundance of original and interesting documents preserved in the family records.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, indeed, collected and compiled numerous materials for the Life of her illustrious husband, and consigned the task to Messrs. Glover and Mallet, who were then conspicuous in the literary world. She entrusted to their care her valuable Papers, and assigned by will the sum of one thousand pounds, to the author, or authors, of a History of the Duke of Marlborough; but clogged the bequest with a condition, that the work should be approved by her executors, and even added the whimsical injunction, that it should not contain a single line of verse.

Glover declined the undertaking, and Mallet never commenced the work. On his death, therefore, the papers which had been entrusted to him, were restored to the family, and being, with others of no less value, deposited at Blenheim, were regularly arranged by order of the late Duke.

Although accident and caprice prevented the great actions of the Duke of Marlborough from being displayed in their proper light, he could not

pass uncelebrated, either by his own or by subsequent ages. We have accordingly many narratives of his Life, printed in the various languages of Europe, and differing in merit and authenticity.

The earliest of these productions is a biographical sketch, concluding with 1713, the year in which it was printed; and is accompanied with a Life of Prince Eugene. It is anonymous, but is dedicated to his son-in-law, the Duke of Montagu, and exhibits evident proofs that the author had served under the command of Marlborough, and shared his confidence.

The next is that of Lediard, in three volumes octavo, printed in 1736. The writer was patronised by the Duke, attended him during his journey into Saxony, and appears to have been a diligent observer. This work, which is principally compiled from Gazettes and other periodical publications, is minute in military details, and as authentic as the means of the author permitted. But although Lediard has introduced a few original letters, he was unable to obtain access to more private documents; and, therefore, is frequently mistaken in tracing the motives of action, even in the field, and still more in developing the secrets of the cabinet.

In 1738, a Life of the Duke of Marlborough, in the dutch language, was given to the public, by Abraham de Vryer, which was principally drawn from Lediard, with some additions from the dutch and french writers. It forms four volumes small octavo.

In 1742 appeared, in two volumes duodecimo,

" The History of John Duke of Marlborough, and of Francis Eugene, Prince of Savoy," written with perspicuity and spirit, but containing few material facts, which had escaped the researches of preceding biographers.

Another Life, in one volume, was published by a German writer, which is only a brief compilation from the foregoing works.

We have lastly to mention a recent publication, which made a considerable sensation in France and England, because it was written by order of Bonaparte, and was supposed to contain several notes from his own pen. It is intituled, " *Histoire de Jean Churchill, Duc de Marlborough,*" and printed at the *Imprimerie Imperiale*, in 1805.

This History is composed in a pleasing, lively, and perspicuous style, and the military operations are detailed with distinctness and precision. The author has drawn the substance of his narrative from Lediard. He has certainly spared no pains in consulting and comparing the writers of all countries, though he is not more fortunate than Lediard in tracing the motives of action, or in developing the intrigues of the cabinet; and for the same reason, namely, that he had access to no unpublished documents. He was fully sensible of this deficiency, and acknowledged it with laudable candour, when, in presenting a copy of his work to the late duke of Marlborough, he solicited information from the family papers. *

* We have thought proper to give this letter, as written in english, by the french author.

Another work, intimately connected with the subject of these Memoirs, must be particularly noticed:

"The Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough," written by Hooke the historian, under her inspection, from her own draughts and communications, and published in 1742, when she had attained the advanced age of eighty-two. This

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"My Lord Duke; *Paris, 4th Sept.*, 1808.

"I take the liberty to present your Grace with a copy of my history of your illustrious Ancestor, the immortal duke of Marlborough. I have undertaken this work by the express order of the emperor Napoleon, a warm admirer of that great man, and far superior to national prejudices. The studied neglect with which the hero of Blenheim had been hitherto treated by french historians, excited his surprise and indignation. However arduous the task imposed on me, I endeavoured to go through it with the most scrupulous regard to truth and impartiality. The many faults and errors which disfigure this first edition, have not escaped my notice. They are only to be attributed to a want of materials, which I hope and desire to come over in a second edition already called for by the booksellers. I know well the defective parts of my work, but in the political and diplomatic scenes I sometimes strayed without either guide or documents. Should your grace be pleased to supply me with some new lights, I would endeavour, by making a proper use of them, to add new lustre to the unparalleled merit of my hero. These materials may be entrusted to my friend Mr. Daniel M'Carthy, who would transmit them most carefully to me, as well as any other commands from your Grace. With such a treasure of new information, I would undertake, with the assistance of my worthy friend, Sir Herbert Croft, now at Amiens, to give an english edition of the work, from which many pages should disappear, to make room for the much more curious and important facts which your Grace would be pleased to communicate.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"*No.* 12. *Rue St. Florentine.*" "MADGETT."

It is proper to observe, that although M. Madgett, interpreter for the marine and colonies, appears here as the sole author of the work, he was assisted in the composition by the Abbé Dutems, professor at the "College de France," who died in 1811.

work embraces the period, from her first introduction at court, to the year 1710, and contains a curious, though often a partial detail, of the state of the court and parties, as well as of her long and intimate connection with her royal mistress.

A counter publication soon afterwards appeared, which was ascribed to Ralph, a violent tory writer, under the title of "The other Side of the Question.' But notwithstanding the acrimony with which he controverts the statements of the duchess, and the partiality with which "The Conduct" is written, it has formed a text-book for subsequent historians.

Several works on the military operations of our distinguished commander, have at different times been given to the public. Among them the most remarkable are "Dumont's Military History of Eugene and Marlborough," with plans of battles and sieges, and "Brodrick's History of the late War in the Netherlands." Also the "Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough in the present War," published in 1712, originally written in our own language, and translated into French. Nor should I omit to notice a regular, though meagre Journal of his campaigns, compiled by Serjeant Milner, who served in the confederate army; and which, though minute and explicit, with regard to the marches and military movements, exhibits no higher information, than might have been expected from the rank of the writer.

Another work of superior merit, contains much military intelligence on the operations of Marlborough. It was published in 1747, from the posthumous papers of Brigadier-General Kane, an

experienced tactician, and an eye-witness; and has furnished much interesting matter on many transactions, particularly on the battle of Ramilies and the siege of Bouchain. *

While employed in writing my historical works, I not only sought in vain for an authentic account of the duke of Marlborough; but I lamented as an Englishman, that no biographical monument had been raised to the memory of so great a general and statesman; and that his reputation had been left to the malice of party writers, and to the misrepresentations of ignorant or prejudiced historians. Under this impression, an accidental conversation with lord Charles Spencer, led me to apply to the late duke of Marlborough, for permission to examine the Documents at Blenheim, some of which I had formerly seen, while attached to the family. The application was received with kindness and complacency; and a nearer view of this rich collection strengthened my wish to become the biographer of his distinguished ancestor.

Three successive visits to Blenheim enabled me to examine and methodise the numerous materials for a history which may be considered as truly national. How far I have succeeded in rendering justice to the subject, must be left to the candid and unbiassed decision of the public.

* The title of this rare and curious work, for which I am indebted to the kindness of lieutenant-colonel Rooke, is, "Campaigns of King William and the Duke of Marlborough; with Remarks on the Stratagems by which each Battle was lost or won, from 1689 to 1712. Also, a New System of Military Discipline for Foot, in Action; with the most essential Exercise for Cavalry. By the late Brigadier-General Richard Kane, Governor of Minorca."

I shall, therefore, without farther apology, describe the plan of the Work, and specify the principal authorities on which it is founded.

My object was, not merely to exhibit the duke of Marlborough as a general, but also as a statesman and negotiator. It was no less my wish to delineate his character as a man, and to exhibit those qualities of his mind and heart, which have either been misrepresented, or passed without notice.

In fulfilling my task, I have endeavoured to avoid an error, too common with biographers, who often hold forth the subject of their memoirs as a perfect being, like a hero of romance, without frailty or blemish. On the contrary, I have not hesitated to notice those failings, with which the virtues and talents of the duke of Marlborough were blended. In particular, I have not attempted to conceal or palliate his clandestine correspondence with his former sovereign and benefactor. This intercourse, although misrepresented and exaggerated in the garbled pages of Macpherson and Dalrymple, is an historical fact, too well authenticated, to be either controverted or denied. I have, however, scrutinised his views and motives, and I trust have shewn that he never entertained a serious wish for the restoration of James the second or the Pretender; but that, in common with many other persons of all ranks and conditions, he was merely anxious to secure a pardon, in case of a counter revolution.

In fact, it is no more than justice to the memory of this great man, to declare, that amidst the papers

in the archives of Blenheim, which have been submitted to my inspection, without reserve or limitation, not a single hint occurs of any correspondence with the exiled family. Even in the numerous letters to lord Godolphin and the duchess, which are written in the full confidence of friendship and affection, and pourtray every feeling of his mind, not the most distant allusion can be traced, which malice itself could construe into an evidence of infidelity towards his sovereign and country.

This fact is a decisive proof that his overtures to the exiled family were never serious. Had he fostered a sincere, though latent attachment to the Stuart race, it must have displayed itself, either directly or indirectly, in his long and intimate correspondence with his friend and colleague, lord treasurer Godolphin. On the contrary, we observe a perpetual anxiety for the maintenance of the protestant succession, a steady attachment to the glory and welfare of England, and an undiminished zeal for the humiliation of the french monarch, on whom the dethroned family placed their sole hopes of restoration.

In the materials to which I have had recourse, I may deem myself particularly fortunate. Nothing perhaps shews the character of an individual, and his true motives of action, more than his confidential letters, which were neither expected or intended to meet the public eye. Of this kind is the greater part of the duke's correspondence, consisting principally of his private communications with the duchess, and the treasurer. To assimilate, therefore, these Memoirs, as nearly as

possible, with that species of biography, which is at once the most interesting and instructive, I have endeavoured to render him his own historian, by adopting on every important occasion, his unaffected and expressive language, and blending his correspondence with the narrative.

The papers preserved at Blenheim form the foundation of the work, and consist of so great a mass of materials, that it would require a volume merely to enumerate the titles. I shall therefore specify only the most remarkable.

1. The letters of the duke of Marlborough, written in his own hand, to his duchess and to lord Godolphin. This correspondence, for value, interest, and extent, is almost unparalleled; and it seems scarcely credible, that a general charged with such a variety of occupations, political and military, should have found leisure to give so minute and frequent a detail of his sentiments, plans, operations and arrangements. The series commences with the year 1701, when he accompanied king William to Holland, and ends in 1711.

2. The official, and other letters of a confidential kind, to different persons, both at home and abroad.

3. His letters to foreign sovereigns and ministers.

4. His correspondence with the queen, which contains the most valuable information on the secrets of the cabinet, and throws a new light on their respective characters. It chiefly consisst of copies and draughts, in his own hand, or in that of the duchess.

5. The letters of the prime minister, lord treasurer Godolphin, written also in his own hand, and equal in point of number and interest to those of his coadjutor.

6. Numerous letters from the different sovereigns of Europe, and their chief ministers, both of an official and private nature. Among these we may particularly point out to notice, those of the emperors Leopold, Joseph, and Charles, the king of Prussia, the duke of Savoy, the electoral family of Hanover, prince Eugene, and the imperial, prussian, swedish, and dutch ministers.

7. The diplomatic correspondence of Marlborough with the british embassadors and agents in the different courts of Europe, containing an ample and original detail of public negotiations and private transactions.

8. Plans, projects, journals, and narratives relating to military affairs, too numerous to particularise. To those from which information has been drawn, a reference is usually given in the work.

9. The papers of the duchess are last specified, as deserving particular attention. Of her letters to the duke, lord Godolphin, and other friends, only a few have been preserved, because she appears to have rigorously exacted their destruction; but we are enabled to trace the subjects and tone of her correspondence, from the replies of the duke and the treasurer. She has, however, made amends for the loss of her own letters, by numerous narratives, remarks, and deductions, on many of the transactions in which she or her husband were

interested. These compositions, although tinctured with her prejudices and passions, yet contain information which we might elsewhere seek in vain. Many were written for her own vindication, and are condensed in the Justification of her Conduct, which she published towards the close of her life, and many for the information of her particular friends. Many, also, owe their existence to her solicitude for the fame of her husband, and were evidently intended for the use and information of the author to whom she consigned the task of writing his life. Besides these, there are two narratives on the domestic transactions of the family, which incidentally furnish several anecdotes relative to the duke of Marlborough.

Her confidential correspondence with her royal mistress, forms a valuable portion of her papers. The letters of the queen appear to have been preserved with peculiar care, and though the originals of the duchess are chiefly destroyed or lost, she made copies of many, which relate to the most intimate period of their intercourse. This correspondence has enabled us to trace the rise, progress, and decline of that singular favour, which she so long enjoyed. Although imperfect, it has also afforded the means of detecting many inaccurate, partial, and garbled accounts, in her own vindication, as well as in our national historians, both contemporary and subsequent.

10. The letters of lord Godolphin to the duchess, though comparatively few, are yet highly valuable, as proving the influence which she

exercised over his mind, and the share she took in the political transactions of the day.

The archives of Blenheim contain the collections of Charles earl of Sunderland, in whose posterity the title of Marlborough now remains. Their value may be estimated from the important part which he acted in the political drama, and his intimate connection with the family of the Duke.

Other documents, which we have not room to specify, will be occasionally referred to in the course of the work.

Amidst this vast mass of materials it was not possible to interweave even the greater part of the letters and papers which I found interesting. It was necessary to set some bounds to selection; and I have therefore confined myself to those which exhibit some peculiar characteristic, or were necessary to elucidate the narrative. For the same reason I have inserted only a few extracts from those letters of the Duke, which have been already published by the Duchess, Dalrymple, Macpherson, Lediard, and others.

I have now to fulfil the grateful task of acknowledging my obligations to those who have kindly promoted and facilitated my labours.

In this enumeration, I must again testify my gratitude to the late duke of Marlborough, for the liberal manner in which his Grace committed the family records to my use, without the slightest control or reserve.

I have likewise to acknowledge a similar obligation to the present Duke, for continuing this

indulgence, and for the interest which his Grace has been pleased to manifest in my undertaking.

To lord Churchill, for his unremitting attentions during my stay at Blenheim, for his zeal in promoting my researches, as well as for the communication of several papers, written by Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, which were consigned to him by his mother the late Duchess. Among these I may particularly mention a manuscript volume in folio, written by a gentleman of the name of St. Priest, under the inspection of the Duchess, while she remained abroad. It is an early draught of the work, afterwards published under the name of "The Conduct."

To the honourable George Agar Ellis, for his aid on many occasions, in illustrating the history of the hero from whom he is descended.

To earl Spencer, for some interesting communications relative to his noble family.

To her Grace the duchess of Buccleugh, for granting access to the Shrewsbury papers, containing many valuable documents, which either directly or indirectly throw a light on the subject of this work. Besides a few original letters from the duke of Marlborough, they consist of the interesting correspondence of the duke of Shrewsbury with king William, Robert earl of Sunderland, lord Somers, and the whig leaders, and comprise a series of letters from Mr. Secretary Vernon to his patron, the duke of Shrewsbury, between 1696 and 1706.

Having testified my obligations to the immediate descendants of John Duke of Marlborough, I

cannot in sufficient terms acknowledge the condescension of their imperial highnesses the archdukes John and Louis. In their passage through Salisbury, they honoured me with a visit, as the historian of the house of Austria; and not only testified the interest, which they took in all my works, but offered me their powerful aid, in procuring transcripts of such documents, as might be found in the archives of Vienna, or in other collections abroad. They graciously fulfilled their promise, by forwarding to me copies of numerous letters written by the duke of Marlborough, to the emperors Leopold, Joseph and Charles, as well as to prince Eugene and to counts Zinzendorf and Wratislaw. These communications have essentially elucidated and enriched my narrative.

To lord viscount Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home department, I have to express my thanks, for granting me access to the valuable correspondence in the State Paper Office. From this collection I have drawn much information, particularly from the volumes containing the official correspondence of the duke of Marlborough with the secretaries of state, and the dispatches from the british embassadors and envoys, in foreign courts, to their own government. I have thus been enabled to supply occasional chasms in the correspondence of the Duke, and to explain many public transactions, which could have been elucidated from no other source.

Also, to the late right honourable John Hiley Addington, under secretary of state for the home department, for his obliging interposition, and for

repeated proofs of friendship, on this and many other occasions.

I have again the satisfaction of repeating my obligations to my noble friend the earl of Hardwicke, for the use of his valuable collection; and particularly for several letters from Mr. Secretary Harley, and the interesting diary of lord chancellor Cowper.

To the duke of Somerset, for some letters of captain Bonnel, who served several campaigns under the duke of Marlborough, and has given a specific account of the march through Germany, as well as some interesting facts relative to the battle of Oudenard.

To lord Dynevor, for favouring me with the inspection of the papers left by his lordship's ancestor, Adam de Cardonel, esq., the confidential secretary to the duke of Marlborough. As the Duke was not in the habit of writing french, though he spoke it fluently, this intelligent gentleman was intrusted with the principal management of the foreign correspondence, under the direction of his Grace. He also prepared many of the english dispatches; and frequently wrote the rough draughts of others, which the duke had not leisure to compose: he was, besides, the channel of the most secret communications. Hence this collection contains numerous and interesting materials, which it is needless to particularise, because reference is made to such as have been consulted in the narrative.

I am indebted to the late Louis Montolieu, esq., for the voluntary transmission of two journals,

kept by his grandfather, Louis baron de Montolieu, and his great uncle, the baron de Montolieu St. Hippolite, who were both generals in the service of the duke of Savoy, and enjoyed his confidence. These documents have supplied me with some curious anecdotes relative to the campaigns in Italy, and the relief of Turin; as well as an interesting narrative from count Maffei to the duke of Savoy, describing the battle of Oudenard.

To Hans Sloane, esq., for obtaining the use of the papers and documents left by lord Cadogan, quarter-master-general of the army, the favourite and confidant of Marlborough, who figured in all his campaigns, and was justly famous for activity and professional skill.

To the Rev. George May, chaplain to the late duke of Marlborough, for selecting the papers from the archives at Blenheim, and for his continued and zealous aid, during the progress of the work.

To Sir George Nayler, York herald, for his valuable assistance in tracing the genealogy of the Churchills; and for much information respecting the armorial bearings of the family, as well as for the copies of the three patents, which are printed in the Appendix.

To Charles Bowles, esq., of Shaftesbury, for his laborious researches and valuable aid, in tracing the genealogy of the Churchill family.

To the bavarian minister at the british court, M. de Pfeffel, for obtaining considerable information on the subject of the principality of Mindelheim, and particularly for his interposition with

the count de Montgelas, principal minister of the king of Bavaria, who gave orders for various communications from the royal archives, in the heraldic and geographical departments.

To convey a just idea of military operations, requires an acquaintance both with the practice and theory of war; and I should have scarcely ventured to enter minutely into a subject foreign to my profession, without the co-operation of an able officer. The acknowledgments due to such an assistant, I have to offer to major Smith, late of the quarter-master-general's department, author of "The History of the Seven Years' War," and translator of the "Secret Stratagetical Instructions" of Frederick the Second.

To this intelligent officer I am indebted for much general information on subjects connected with his profession, and particularly for the communication of his elaborate memorials on the signal victories of Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenard, and Malplaquet, from which I have principally drawn my descriptions. To his invaluable assistance I also owe the masterly accounts of the movements previous to the battle of Malplaquet, and of the military operations in the celebrated campaign of 1711.

As the plans of the battles and military movements were chiefly constructed under his inspection, I may, without incurring the imputation of vanity, venture to flatter myself that they will be found no way inferior to any thing of the kind yet given to the public. Professional men will best estimate their accuracy, and those who have no

insight into military affairs, need only compare them with the plans hitherto published, to appreciate their value.

To major Freeth, of the quarter-master-general's department, I am indebted for much useful assistance on military subjects, and for the plan of the operations on the Danube, during the splendid campaign of 1704, as well as for that of the attack on the french lines in 1705.

In enumerating a list of those who have contributed their aid, it would be injustice not to repeat my grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Hatcher, my late secretary, now postmaster of Salisbury, for his able and indefatigable assistance in preparing these memoirs for the press.

I shall close this Preface with a few explanatory remarks.

Many of the letters are without date, and others are distinguished only by the name of the month or day of the week. The greater part of the correspondence between the duke, the duchess, and lord Godolphin, is also mingled with ciphers, to which there is no key; and the ciphers were evidently changed several times. In all these cases I have endeavoured to ascertain the dates and names, and have generally succeeded. With regard to the ciphers, whenever I could appropriate them with certainty, I have omitted the figures; and where I was doubtful, I have either annexed the cipher to my explanation, or left it unexplained.

In regard to the dates, the difference between the old and new style has occasioned some perplexity. All the letters from the queen, Godol-

phin, and the duchess, are in the old style, to which I have occasionally added the new; but the two styles being frequently intermingled in those of the duke, I marked the new style, wherever I could ascertain that the old was used.

I deem it necessary to apprize the reader, that the principal part of the correspondence is taken from the records at Blenheim, to which specific references are omitted, as superfluous; but the papers from other collections are, in most instances, indicated. All the letters from foreign sovereigns and ministers are translated from the originals, which are chiefly written in the french language.

It may, perhaps, appear unnecessary to apologise for the adoption of the modern orthography, in the correspondence, which is interwoven with the narrative. The duke of Marlborough lived in an age, when little attention was paid to the minor departments of grammar; and he, like his friend Eugene, wrote with the carelessness of a soldier, not with the precision of a man of letters. To have given literal transcripts of his epistles, would have afforded little gratification to those who look rather to things than to words, and who are more anxious to be acquainted with his thoughts than with his orthography. Besides, in point of taste, it would be useless to urge how much the pages of an historical narrative would have been disfigured by variations in spelling, arising from haste and inattention, from the careless habit of the times, or from long residence abroad. This innovation is, however, merely literal; for the language of the letters, in all cases, is scrupulously preserved.

To satisfy curiosity, I have given two *Fac-Similes* from the hand-writing of the duke of Marlborough; one of which is evidently a hasty draught of a letter to lord Godolphin, and the other the celebrated note, which he wrote in pencil, announcing the victory of Blenheim. These will sufficiently shew the peculiarities of his orthography.

Memoranda on the Construction of the Maps and Plans, furnished by Major Smith.

The following mode has been adopted with regard to the Maps and Plans, which it was necessary to re-construct, in order to render the narratives of the military operations intelligible.

The first which became the object of critical scrutiny was, the plan of the attack on the intrenched camp of Schellenberg. Geographical engineers and military draughtsmen can readily discover when the topographical representation of a portion of ground bears evidence of accuracy. In this respect, all the printed plans in Dumont and his copiers betrayed a want of fidelity, and a new survey of the Danube proved the suspicion to be well founded. Luckily, a manuscript plan by a german officer, evidently present at the attack, was found among the Marlborough papers, designed with so much accuracy, in regard to the lines and first position, that after some slight corrections, it was adopted without reserve.

The battle of Blenheim was the next; and it was a matter of some difficulty to construct a new plan, because no materials were extant, which embraced the whole field, on a scale sufficiently enlarged. Recourse was, therefore, again had to the survey of the Danube, which contained about half the space of ground, and to the great Survey of Germany, in 204 sheets. The former was reduced, and the latter expanded to the same scale. A trifling difficulty occurred in this process,

relative to the position of the villages on the north; but all doubt was removed by the superb Plans of the Austrian Operations, in 1796, which were subsequently received. Upon this foundation the first positions, in an engraved plan, now become scarce, compared with authentic documents in the Marlborough Papers, were designed; and it was soon discovered, that what appeared obscure or unintelligible in the old draughts, became evident, when the movements or positions were transferred to a true representation of the locality. By the successive manœuvres of the several corps, their changes of position were easily determined. After the plan was finished, an original survey of the ground was received from the Bavarian quarter-master-general's department; and it was satisfactory to find, that with the trifling exception of the mouth of a rivulet, no correction was required.

The plan of operations between the Saar and Moselle is reduced from Cassini, and the positions marked from a manuscript in the Marlborough Collection.

The original engraved plan of the battle of Ramilies, was drawn by a dutch staff-officer; but without pretensions to accuracy, as he was only partially acquainted with the scene of action. An original survey in his majesty's library was therefore compared with an enlarged plan taken from Feraris; and the character of the ground was laid down from reconnoitrings in the vicinity, and the accounts of several authors.

Nearly the whole site of the battle of Oudenard has undergone personal examination. To the

recollections which it inspired, the description of the surrounding country is principally owing. The notes taken on the spot, compared with the original plan by captain Bruckman, an engineer in the service of the elector of Hanover, and present at the battle, and a memoir by the same officer in the king's library, together with an enlarged sketch from Feraris, have served for the construction of the new plan.

The plan of the movements of Marlborough during the siege of Lille, is chiefly drawn from Cassini and Feraris; and the positions are indicated from the letters and papers of the british commander.

The general view of the operations, from the surrender of Tournay to the battle of Malplaquet, is copied and reduced from Feraris and Cassini, and corrected from notes taken on the spot.

The plan of the battle of Malplaquet, is drawn from a superb plan in the king's library, compared with those of captain Bruckman and others, as well as with an excellent sketch of the vicinity of Mons, from the Austrian quarter-master-general's department. It was corrected and improved from a personal examination of part of the field of battle, and with the preceding, may, therefore, be pronounced accurate, even in the minutest details.

ERRATA.

Vol. I. p. 380. l. 18. after *Sandizel* insert *and Pottiness*
381. l. 13. after *bridge* insert *over the Danube*
386. l. ult. after *conflict* insert *That part of*
387. l. 2. for *north-west* read *south-west*
389. l. 11. for *east* read *west*
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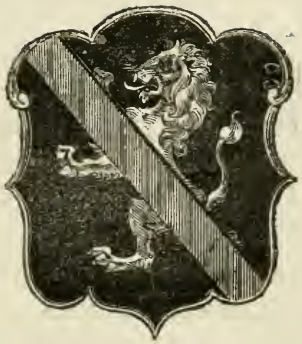

Original Arms
of the Churchill Family.

GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

CHURCHILL FAMILY;

INCLUDING BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF JOHN CHURCHILL, ESQ., AND SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, KNIGHT, THE GRANDFATHER, AND FATHER OF THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

As JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH owed his rise and distinction, not to the splendor of his ancestry or family interest, but to his great achievements and personal merit, we shall not enter into a laboured investigation of his pedigree.

The Churchill family may, however, be traced from the Conquest; Roger de Courcil, or Courselle, originally descended from the Courcils of Poitou, being one of the norman barons

who accompanied the Conqueror to England, and shared the fruits of his victory. In Domesday Book he appears under the name of Roger de Courselle, as proprietor of many lordships in the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and Salop. Among these is Corfeton or Corton, now a demesne in the parish of Portisham, near Dorchester. His descendants afterwards spread into various branches, which may be traced, till the norman appellation was exchanged for that of Churchill. Of the branch which was particularly connected with the subject of these pages, was Sir Bartholomew de Churchill, who was seated in Somersetshire. He figured in the contest beween Stephen and the empress Maud; and after bravely defending the castle of Bristol, at length fell in the cause of the king. Of this brave warrior an epitaph of uncertain date has been preserved, which is printed in Lediard.*

The possessions and honours which the Churchill family had acquired, were, however, gradually diminished or lost, by the failure of male issue in the direct line, and the subdivision of property, by the marriages of the daughters.

In the 14th century we find the Churchills established in Devonshire, and intermarrying with several families of distinguished birth and property. In the reign of Henry the sixth, William, a lineal descendant of Sir Bartholomew, was seated at Rockbear, in the same county. Charles, the grandson of William, was distinguished as a war-

* Vol. i. p. 4.

rior in the troubled reign of Edward the fourth. He fought under the banners of the Courteneys, earls of Devonshire, in the cause of that monarch, and continuing faithful after their defection, was much honoured with the royal notice. He left a son, Thomas, who espoused Grace, daughter and coheiress of Thomas Tylle, of Tylle House. *

William, the son of Thomas, espoused Mary, daughter of Richard Cruse †, of Wicroft castle, Devon, and left three sons, Roger, John, and William.

As the two younger sons are not directly connected with our subject, we shall only observe, that the first, John, obtained Corton, the ancient possession of Roger de Courselle, and left two daughters, by whose marriages his property was conveyed into other families. Anne, the eldest, espoused Maximilian Mohun, esq. of Fleet, to whom she conveyed Corton; and Elizabeth, the younger, married Brian Williams, esq. William ‡,

* Some authors speak of Tylle House as situated in Cornwall. I cannot, however, perceive any mention of it in the topographical accounts of that duchy; but I find Tylle House in the parish of Broad Clist, Devonshire, which, from its vicinity to the residence of the Churchills, is more likely to have been the seat of the gentleman, whose daughter espoused Thomas Churchill. — It is now a farm-house, and still bears the same name.

† We have a collateral proof of the respectability of the Churchill family at this period, from their alliances with those of Cruse and Tylle, with whom the Wadhams, lords of Catherston, were likewise connected by marriage.

‡ Most genealogists confound these two sons, making William the proprietor of Corton, and John of Muston. The contrary, however, is evident from various documents. In the will of John, which is pre-

the other son, established himself at Dorchester; and left a son John, who is the founder of the line of Muston, and the ancestor from whom the different branches of the family in Dorsetshire are principally descended.

Roger, the eldest son of William Churchill, was settled at Catherston, near the borders of Devonshire. He espoused Joan, daughter and heiress of William Peverell, of Bradford Peverell, and widow of Nicholas Meggs.* In consequence of this match, we find his son Matthew, and his grandson Jasper, successively seated at Bradford Peverell. Jasper was the father of John Churchill, esq., who, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, was proprietor of Newland †, in the parish of Wotton

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served in Doctors Commons, he calls himself John Churchill of Corton, gent., and mentions his brother William and his nephew John. It was proved March 12. 1599. We find also two deeds, the first executed 28 Elizabeth, 1586, between William Churchill of Dorchester, and Hugh Chauntrel of Chauntmarel, for the purchase of the farm of Lufford, in the parish of Piddlehinton; and the second, dated 36 Eliz. 1594, between John Churchill of Corton, William Churchill of Dorchester, and George Smith of the same place, relative to certain messuages in Dorchester, Fordington, and Bradford Peverell. William died about 1602, as we find from his will, dated in March 1559, and proved Nov. 18. 1602, by his son John, his sole heir and executor.

In 1609, 6 James I., John, who is styled of Stinsford, obtained licence for the alienation of Muston from Nicholas Bartlet, alias Hancock.

For the information derived from the documents here mentioned, I have to acknowledge my obligation to William Woods, esq. of the Heralds' College, and the Rev. Mr. Churchill, of Colyton Row, Dorchester.

* Pedigree of the family of Meggs, in Hutchins's Dorset.

† This estate was part of the manor of Shipton, under the appellation of Blackmore, and was granted in the 18th of Edward 1st to Simon de Montacute, ancestor of the earls of Salisbury, from whom it

Glanville, Dorset, which had originally belonged to the noble family of Montacute. We afterwards discover him in possession of the mansion-house and estate of Great Mintern, in the neighbouring parish *, which were held by lease under the college of Winchester.

John embraced the profession of the law, became a member of the Middle Temple, and considerably

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derived the additional distinction of Newland or Newton Montacute. It continued in the family, till the extinction of the male line in the person of Thomas Montacute. In 51 Edward 3d, it was re-granted in tail to William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, who was possessed of it at his death in 1397, under the name of the manor of Blackmore, called Newland. It was forfeited by the attainder of John de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, who was beheaded at Cirencester, in 1401, for an attempt to raise an insurrection in favour of Richard 2d. It was restored to the family the 7th of Henry 6th, in the person of his son, Thomas, earl of Salisbury, a distinguished warrior, and, after his death, in the same year, was granted to Richard Neville, who had espoused his only daughter and heiress, Alice, and who added to his other honours the title of earl of Salisbury. With the possessions of this family it continued, till the attainder of Margaret Plantagenet, countess of Salisbury, wife of Sir Richard de la Pole, in 1541. On that attainder it was valued at £13. 10*s.* 6*d.* Afterwards it was granted by queen Mary, in the 1st year of her reign, to Francis, second earl of Huntingdon, in virtue of his marriage with Catharine, one of the daughters and coheirs of Henry Pole, lord Montacute, son of the above-mentioned Margaret, countess of Salisbury. By what means this property was subsequently transferred to the Churchills, we have not been able to ascertain, though Hutchins vaguely observes, that it came from the Gamages. The manor-house still exists, but in a state of dilapidation. It is depicted in outline, in Hutchins's Dorset, under the name of Round Chimnies, vol. iii. p. 289.

* Great Mintern was originally a possession of the abbey of Cerne, which was granted on the dissolution to the college of Winchester, and held under lease by the family of Collyer. From this family, which seems to have been connected by marriage with the Churchills, it was transferred in 1642 to John Churchill, as appears by the counter part of the lease, in the archives of the college. The lease was regularly renewed to the descendants of John, from 1642 to 1709.

improved his fortune by successful practice. The respectability of his family, joined to his professional celebrity, enabled him to form a matrimonial alliance with Sarah, daughter and coheiress of Sir Henry Winston, of Standish, in Gloucestershire, whose descent was derived from the antient british chieftains, as well as from the norman followers of the Conqueror. * He espoused, in second nuptials, Mary Allen, a lady whose family was settled at Wotton Glanville. †

At the commencement of the unfortunate contest between the king and parliament, John embraced the cause of the king, and on the fall of the monarchy, was obliged to compound with the triumphant party, by paying a fine of £440, for his estate at Newland. He died between 1654 and 1660 ‡, as we find from the renewals of the

* Pedigree in the Heralds' Office.

† The proof of this second marriage is drawn from her will, dated in 1675, in which she requests to be buried near the remains of her late husband, John Churchill, esq., if the permission of her son-in-law, Sir Winston, could be obtained; and if not, near her mother, Margaret Allen, in Glanville Wotton. She left legacies to her son-in-law, Sir Winston, and to the nephews and grandchildren of her husband.

For the discovery of this document, I am indebted to Charles Bowles, esq., of Shaftesbury.

Hutchins mentions a sepulchral inscription in the church of Mintern, dedicated by Mary Churchill, widow, to the memory of her husband, John Churchill, esq., who is said to have died April 16. 1652. This date appears to be incorrect, as it is antecedent to the renewal of the lease of Mintern, which was granted to him in 1654.

‡ I endeavoured to discover the date of his death, but was informed by the Rev. Mr. Frome, minister of Great Mintern, that the registers of that parish, for the period in question, had been destroyed. His place of sepulture, however, is proved by the will of his son, Winston, who desired to be buried in the same grave as his father, in the church of Great Mintern.

lease *, and was buried in the church of Great Mintern.

He left an only son, Winston, who was born in 1620 †, and received his christian name from his maternal grandfather, Sir Henry Winston. After acquiring the rudiments of a learned education, he was sent, at the age of sixteen, to St. John's College, Oxford ‡; but left the university, at the commencement of the struggle between the king and parliament, and followed the example of his father in espousing the royal cause. Before he had attained his majority, he served in the king's army, as a captain of horse, and afterwards signalised himself at the battles of Lansdown and Roundway, as well as at the sieges of Taunton and Bristol. During the civil troubles, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Drake §, of Ash,

* In 1654, the lease of Mintern was renewed with John Churchill, esq., and in 1660, with his son, Winston Churchill.

For this and other communications on the subject, I am indebted to the Rev. H. Lee, Fellow of Winchester College.

† According to Wood, Sir Winston Churchill was born in London. Lediard, however, states his birth-place to have been Wotton Basset, which is evidently a mistake for Wotton Glanville, Dorset. By the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Wickens, the register of Wotton Glanville has been searched for some entry of his baptism, but without effect; and that of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, by the vicar, the Rev. Archdeacon Pott, with as little success. I am, however, inclined to adopt the opinion of Wood, as a contemporary, and an author of research.

‡ By the favour of the Rev. B. Bandinell, principal librarian of the Bodleian Library, I have obtained the following entry of his matriculation:

1636 April 8 Winstonus Churchill Londin' fil. Johãs Churchill de Glanville Wooton in com. tiõ Gen. an. nat. 16.

§ Sir John Drake was created a baronet in 1660. He is mentioned in a list of those who were to have been honoured with the order of

in the parish of Musbury, Devonshire, who was allied to the noble families of Boteler, Leigh, and Villiers. Before the execution of the king, he retired to the mansion of his father-in-law. On the death of his father, he succeeded nominally to the family inheritance; but being loaded by the parliament with the enormous fine of £4446 *, for his services to the royal cause, his estate was sequestrated, and he continued to reside at Ash, where most of his children were born.

On the restoration of Charles the second, the loyalty of Winston Churchill received its due reward. He recovered possession of his family estate at Mintern, and was gratified with the special grant of an augmentation to his arms †, which conveys an honourable testimony to his loyalty and military services. In the first parliament of Charles the second, he served for the borough of Weymouth. Soon afterwards he received the honour of knighthood, and was appointed a commissioner of claims in Ireland, for judging the qualifications of those who had forfeited their

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the Royal Oak, which was proposed to be instituted after the Restoration. English Baronetage, vol. v. p. 276.

* Hutchins, art. Wotton Glanville and Mintern.

† This augmentation was a canton charged with the cross of St. George; and as a crest, a lion couchant, gardant, argent. He at the same time assumed a motto indicative of his services and his sufferings in the royal cause, "Fiel pero desdichado," *Faithful but unfortunate.* The reader will find this grant in the Appendix, with the new coat of Arms.

In other plates are exhibited the successive bearings of the Churchill family, and a general shield, as borne by John duke of Marlborough.

estates. He is praised by the Irish historians for the share he took in tranquillising that country, then in a state of commotion.

Returning from Ireland, he was nominated one of the clerks comptrollers of the board of green cloth. As a staunch loyalist, he incurred the resentment of the popular party, and was vigorously attacked in parliament. He was at length driven from his post, to the regret of the king; but on the subsequent triumph of the court, he was reinstated, and retained his office till his death.

Sir Winston Churchill was not diverted from the pursuits of literature, by the events of his troubled life. He was one of the earliest members of the Royal Society; and may be classed among our historical writers, as the author of a political history of England, intituled "Divi Britannici," a work of more research, than interest or amusement. It however contains some heraldic information, particularly on the armorial bearings of the different sovereigns, and is replete with such principles, as then distinguished the zealous champions of the prerogative. *

In the arms borne by the Duke of Marlborough, as Prince of Mindelheim, the attentive observer will notice two variations. First, the Tylle arms, in the second quartering, exhibit three trefoils, and the Wilduirde arms, in the third, are without a bordure; whereas in the other coats furnished by Sir G. Nayler, from the Heralds' College, which are the true bearings, the Tylle arms have no trefoils, and the Wilduirde arms are surrounded with a bordure.

* Among other maxims he asserted that the king was empowered to raise money without the consent of parliament. This obnoxious doctrine was so highly resented, that he found it necessary to expunge the passage, which accordingly does not appear in many copies of the work.

Notwithstanding the favour of the sovereign, and the income of his offices, he died in straitened circumstances; for he left his landed property to his widow, with a request that she would bequeath it to his third son, Charles, from whom he had derived pecuniary assistance. He seems to have partly owed his embarrassments to his loyalty, as we find in his will a legacy of certain arrears, due to him from the crown.

His death took place in March, 1688, and he was interred in his parish church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, where a monument was raised to his memory.*

Besides the earl of Marlborough, the surviving children were George, Charles, and Arabella.

George was at this time in the naval service, in which he afterwards rose to the rank of admiral. In the latter part of William's reign, he was a member of the board of admiralty; and in that of Anne, was one of the council of prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral, whose confidence he possessed in a peculiar degree. He was also gentleman of his bed-chamber.

Charles, at the age of thirteen, was made page of honour to Christian, king of Denmark, and at sixteen gentleman of the bed-chamber to his brother, prince George. He probably came to England with the prince, embraced the profession of arms, and after distinguishing himself at the battle of Steenkirk, and in the sieges of Cork and

* From the entry of his burial in the parish register, communicated by the Rev. Archdeacon Pott.

Kinsale, bore an important command in the most memorable operations of his brother. His services and connections raised him to high military rank and honours.

Arabella, the eldest of the family, and the only daughter, was born at Ash, in February, 1648, O. S.* She was appointed maid of honour to the duchess of York, in which situation she captivated the duke of York, and bore him two sons, James Fitz James, afterwards marshal Berwick, and Henry, grand prior of France. Also two daughters, Henrietta, who espoused Henry, lord Waldegrave, and Elizabeth, who became a nun. Some time before the Revolution, she was deserted by her royal paramour, and remained in England in comparative obscurity. She appears to have enjoyed a pension on the Irish establishment under king William, and finally espoused colonel Godfrey, who by the influence of her brother was made keeper of the Jewel Office in the Tower.

In 1697, Sir Winston Churchill was followed to the grave by his widow. As lord Marlborough was in a prosperous situation, and as little provision was made for his brothers and sister, he derived no benefit from his paternal property. The family

* The entry of her baptism thus appears in the parish register of Axminster, before that of her brother, John duke of Marborough.

" Arabella Churchwell, daughter of Weston Churchwell, and Elisabeth his wyfe, was baptised in Aish Haulæ, the 28th of February, Anno Dom. 1648."

For this communication, I am indebted to the researches of John Hussey, esq. of Salisbury.

seat and annexed demesne at Mintern *, were left by lady Churchill, at the desire of her deceased husband, to Charles the third son, in consideration of the money which he had advanced to discharge his father's debts. By him it was bequeathed to his widow, who on her second marriage with lord Abingdon, conveyed it to his family. It has been since transferred to other proprietors. †

* Copies of the wills of Sir Winston and lady Churchill in the family papers. The probate of her will is dated 1st March, 1697.

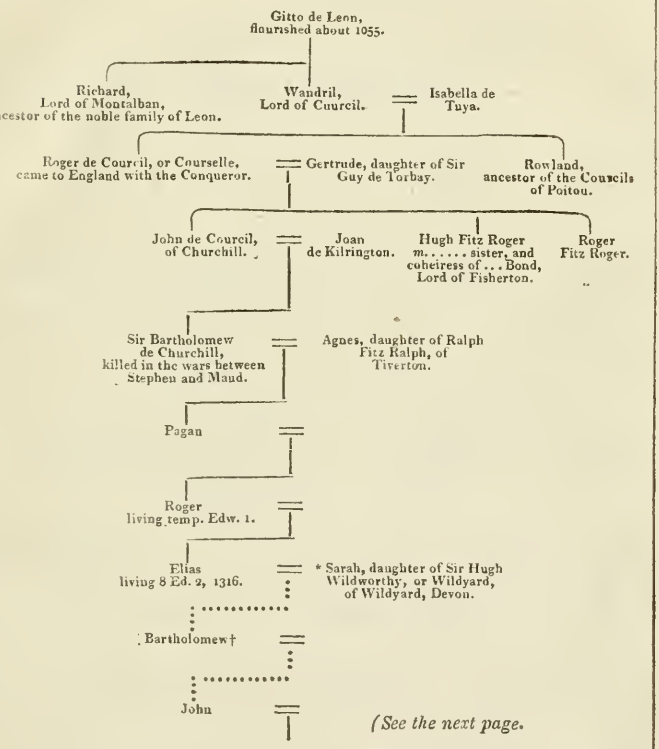
† [For this biographical account have been consulted Collins's Peerage — and others of more ancient date; — Lediard; — Biographia Britannica, art. Winston Churchill; — Family Documents; — Records in the Heralds' College; — and Huchins's History of Dorset.]

The genealogical table which accompanies this account, exhibits the descent of the Churchill family from the Conquest, to the birth of John Duke of Marlborough. Notwithstanding the obscurity which rests on the lineage of the Churchills in the middle ages, I flatter myself I have supplied a chasm in the line of descent, and have ascertained three of the branches which have hitherto been confounded.

I. No. 1.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CHURCHILL FAMILY,

From the Period of the Conquest to the Birth of John Duke of Marlborough.


Gitto de Leon, flourished about 1055.
Richard, Lord of Montalban, ancestor of the noble family of Leon.
Wandril, Lord of Courcil.
Isabella de Tuya.
Roger de Courcil, or Courselle, came to England with the Conqueror.
Gertrude, daughter of Sir Guy de Torbay.
Rowland, ancestor of the Councils of Poitou.
John de Courcil, of Churchill.
Joan de Kilrington.
Hugh Fitz Roger m..... sister, and coheiress of ... Bond, Lord of Fisherton.
Roger Fitz Roger.
Sir Bartholomew de Churchill, killed in the wars between Stephen and Maud.
Agnes, daughter of Ralph Fitz Ralph, of Tiverton.
Pagan
Roger living temp. Edw. 1.
Elias living 8 Ed. 2, 1316.
* Sarah, daughter of Sir Hugh Wildworthy, or Wildyard, of Wildyard, Devon.
Bartholomew†
John

(See the next page.

* According to some of the genealogists, this Elias espoused Dorothy, a daughter of the family of Columbers. We prefer the authority of Poole, who says, "Elishays, a freehold of the manor of Comberleigh, was the antient land of Elyas de Churchill, who married Sarah, daughter and heir of Sir Hugh Wildworthy."

† These two descents are added on the authority of a passage in Poole's Collections of Devon, art. Wildyard, which is confirmed by the Heraldic Visitation of Cornwall, art. Stephen Gifford.

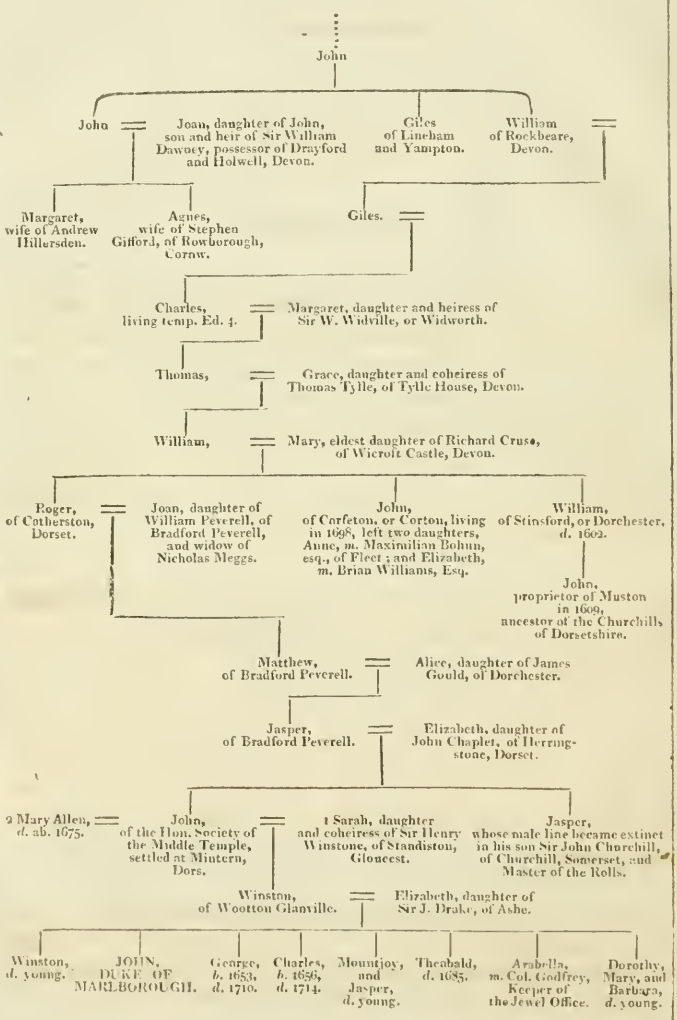
"Wildyard, in the parish of Cliston, belonged to Elias de Churchill, Bartholomew, and John de Churchill; and John Churchill, who had issue, Margaret, married to Andrew Hillersden; and Agnes, married to Stephen Gifford."

In fact, the line of descent itself, as given by former genealogists, proves that a generation or two must have been omitted; for Elias de Churchill is mentioned as flourishing in the 8th of Edward the second, and his son William, as living in the 5th of Richard the second, and 11th of Henry the fourth, which would make an interval, in one case, of 67 years, and in the other of 100.

I. No. 2.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CHURCHILL FAMILY.

(Continued from the preceding page.)


John
John
Joan, daughter of John, son and heir of Sir William Dawney, possessor of Drayford and Holwell, Devon.
Giles of Lineham and Yampton.
William of Rockbeare, Devon.
Margaret, wife of Andrew Hillersden.
Agnes, wife of Stephen Gifford, of Rowborough, Cornw.
Giles.
Charles, living temp. Ed. 4.
Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir W. Widville, or Widworth.
Thomas,
Grace, daughter and coheiress of Thomas Tylle, of Tylle House, Devon.
William,
Mary, eldest daughter of Richard Cruse, of Wicroft Castle, Devon.
Roger, of Cotherston, Dorset.
Joan, daughter of William Peverell, of Bradford Peverell, and widow of Nicholas Meggs.
John, of Corfeton, or Corton, living in 1698, left two daughters, Anne, m. Maximilian Bohun, esq., of Fleet; and Elizabeth, m. Brian Williams, Esq.
William, of Stinsford, or Dorchester, d. 1602.
John, proprietor of Muston in 1609, ancestor of the Churchills of Dorsetshire.
Matthew, of Bradford Peverell.
Alice, daughter of James Gould, of Dorchester.
Jasper, of Bradford Peverell.
Elizabeth, daughter of John Chaplet, of Herringstone, Dorset.
2 Mary Allen, d. ab. 1675.
John, of the Hon. Society of the Middle Temple, settled at Minterne, Dors.
1 Sarah, daughter and coheiress of Sir Henry Winstone, of Standiston, Gloucest.
Jasper, whose male line became extinct in his son Sir John Churchill, of Churchill, Somerset, and Master of the Rolls.
Winston, of Wootton Glanville.
Elizabeth, daughter of Sir J. Drake, of Ashe.
Winston, d. young.
JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.
George, b. 1653, d. 1710.
Charles, b. 1656, d. 1714.
Mountjoy, and Jasper, d. young.
Theobald, d. 1685.
Arabella, m. Col. Godfrey, Keeper of the Jewel Office.
Dorothy, Mary, and Barbara, d. young.

MEMOIRS, &c.

CHAPTER 1.

1650—1678.

Birth and education of John Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough. — Appointed page to the duke of York. — Embraces the military profession. — His exploits and promotion. — Distinguished by Turenne. — Serves several campaigns with the french army. — Rising favour at court. — Courtship and marriage with Miss Sarah Jennings. — Mission to the prince of Orange. — Accompanies the english troops abroad as Brigadier. — Return.

John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, was the second son of Winston Churchill, whose lineage has been traced in the Introduction. He was born at Ashe, in the county of Devon, the seat of his maternal grandfather Sir John Drake, on the 24th of June, 1650, and on the 28th * was baptized by the Rev. Matthew Drake, rector of the parish.

* The entry of his birth appears in the register of Axminster, that of Ash commencing only in 1653. "John the sonne of Mr. Winstone Churchile, was baptized at Aishe, the 28th daye of June, in the year of our Lord 1650." Communicated by T. Lisle Follet, esq. of Lyme.

Winston, the eldest son, dying in infancy, John became heir to the family name and declining fortunes. Of the education of a person afterwards so illustrious, we only know that he was brought up under the care of his father, who was himself a man of letters, and well versed in history. He was also instructed in the rudiments of knowledge by a neighbouring clergyman of great learning and piety; and from him, doubtless, imbibed that deep sense of religion, and zealous attachment to the church of England, which were never obliterated amidst the dissipation of a court, the cares of political business, or the din of arms.

Soon after the restoration, when his father was established at court, we find him in the metropolis, and as appears, placed in the school of St. Paul's *,

* It is very singular that none of his biographers, or any tradition in the family, afford the least hint that he was a scholar of St. Paul's school. There seems, however, to be little doubt of the fact; for it is thrice mentioned in the Life of Dean Collet, the founder of the school, by Dr. Knight, prebendary of Ely, who was himself a scholar, and published his work soon after the death of the duke. The first instance occurs in the Preface, where he is commemorated with the duke of Manchester, as a scholar and benefactor of the establishment; and the second, in the Biographical Sketch of Dr. Crumleholm, who was appointed master in 1660.

To remove all doubts on this point, I requested the Rev. Dr. Sleath, the present high master, to search the books, for some entry or anecdote relative to his admission. But I had the mortification to learn, that all the early documents were destroyed in the great fire of London, in 1665; although from the testimony of Dr. Knight, as well as the tradition of the school, he entertained no doubt of the fact.

Another anecdote connected with the education of this great man appears more questionable. He is supposed to have imbibed his passion for a military life from the perusal of Vegetius de re Militari, which was then in the school library. The anecdote was thus recorded by the Rev. G. North, rector of Colyton, in his copy of Vegetius, p. 483, pre-

under Dr. Crumleholm, who was then high master. He did not, however, remain a sufficient time to reap the advantages afforded by this respectable seminary; for he was removed to the theatre of active life, at a period when the ordinary course of liberal education is scarcely more than half completed.

The interest of Sir Winston Churchill enabled him to secure establishments for his rising family. Arabella, his only daughter, was introduced at court, soon after the Restoration, as maid of honour to the first duchess of York; and John was appointed page of honour to the duke.

The example and military spirit of the father was not without effect on the son. At an early period he manifested a decided inclination for the profession of arms, which did not escape the notice

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sented to the Bodleian Library, by the late Mr. Gough; communicated by the head librarian, the Rev. Mr. Bandinel.

"From this very book, John Churchill, scholar of this school, afterwards the celebrated duke of Marlborough, first learnt the elements of the art of war, as was told to me, George North, on St. Paul's Day, 1724-5, by an old clergyman, who said he was a contemporary scholar, was then well acquainted with him, and frequently saw him read it. This I testify to be true. G. North."

It is not probable that a boy should have read so difficult a book as Vegetius, at so early an age, particularly as we can trace no indication that he possessed such an intimate acquaintance with the latin tongue, as the study of this author must have required. The restless curiosity of youth might however have prompted him to look into this book, which was perhaps the only foundation of the traditional anecdote, particularly as it contains prints which might have attracted and amused his attention.

It is however remarkable that there is no Vegetius in the present library of St. Paul's school, though the title occurs in the catalogue as published in Collet's life. Dr. Sleath, who on his appointment found the books in great disorder, conjectures that it was stolen during the time of his predecessor.

of the duke of York, in the frequent reviews of the two regiments of foot guards, which he was accustomed to exercise. On one of these occasions, being asked by his royal patron, what profession he preferred, and in what manner he should provide for him, he threw himself on his knees, and warmly petitioned that he might be appointed to a pair of colours, in one of those fine regiments whose discipline he had admired. The request was graciously received, and soon afterwards the enterprising youth was gratified with the pair of colours, which he had so earnestly desired. *

Many idle stories have been detailed by the memoir writers, or rather the novelists of later times, respecting his early rise. The origin of his fortune has been ascribed wholly to the influence of his sister, Arabella, who was afterwards mistress to the duke of York. But although it would be absurd to assert that he derived no advantage from the favour which she subsequently enjoyed, we may justly conclude that she did not contribute to his first promotion. He received his commission at the age of sixteen, before she had attracted the notice of the duke; and the personal qualifications, and bravery which he soon afterwards displayed, together with the services of his father, render it scarcely necessary to seek any other cause for his rapid advancement, than his ardour for a military life, his martial appearance, and rising merits.

The retailers of anecdotes have also sought romantic causes for his first military expedition. Some

* This anecdote is related by his earliest biographer. — Life of John, duke of Marlborough, p. 8.

assert, that his comely person attracted the notice of the duchess of York; others, that he captivated the duchess of Cleveland, the king's mistress; and that the jealousy of one of the royal brothers, was the cause of his temporary banishment to Tangier, then a dependency of the british crown, and besieged by the moors. The absurdity of this tale is sufficiently proved by the shortness of his absence, and his recall by the duke of York himself. Indeed it was perfectly natural, that a high spirited youth, full of enthusiasm for his profession, should resign the pleasures of a court, to acquire renown on the only theatre which was then open to british valour. His conduct proved that he was actuated by a native spirit of enterprise. He eagerly engaged in the frequent sallies and skirmishes which occurred during the course of the siege; and in this desultory warfare gave the first indications of his active and daring character.

Returning to England the same year, he resumed his attendance on the duke of York, from whom, as well as from the king, he received daily proofs of favour. In 1672, when England united with France against Holland, he accompanied the detachment of 6,000 men, which was sent abroad under the duke of Monmouth; and shortly after his arrival on the continent, was appointed captain of grenadiers in the duke's own regiment. This service was peculiarly calculated to call forth and improve his military talents. The french army, though nominally under the command of Louis the fourteenth, was directed by the two greatest generals of the age, marshal Turenne and

the prince of Condé. With a boldness and rapidity till then almost unknown, they reduced in the space of a few months, the fortresses on the Rhine, to its separation from the Meuse, overran the province of Utrecht, and advanced to the vicinity of Amsterdam. In these operations captain Churchill not only signalized himself in the regular course of military duty, but volunteered his service on every occasion of difficulty and danger. At the siege of Nimeguen he attracted the discerning eye of Turenne, who from that period spoke of him by the familiar title of his handsome englishman, and shortly afterwards put his spirit to the test. A lieutenant-colonel having scandalously abandoned, without resistance, a station which he was enjoined to defend to the last extremity, Turenne exclaimed, "I will bet a supper and a dozen of claret, that my handsome englishman will recover the post, with half the number of men that the officer commanded, who has lost it!" The wager was instantly accepted, and the event justified the confidence of the general; for captain Churchill after a short but desperate struggle expelled the enemy, and maintained the post.*

In the ensuing year, he signalized himself at the siege of Maestricht. A lodgment having been made in the half moon, he accompanied the storming party, which was led by the duke of Monmouth, and at the head of his own company planted the banner of France on the rampart. Before morning, however, the enemy sprang a

* Lives of Marlborough and Eugene, p. 12.

mine, and rushing forward at the moment of the explosion, recovered the work. But the duke of Monmouth with a party of only twelve, among whom was captain Churchill, traversed the ditch, penetrated through a postern into the half moon, and being seconded by the bravest of their soldiers, regained the lodgment. The captain was slightly wounded in the action.

For this service he received the thanks of Louis the fourteenth, at the head of the army, and a strong recommendation to the notice of his own sovereign. The duke of Monmouth also generously conceded to him the whole honour of the exploit; and on presenting him to Charles the second, after a warm eulogium on his conduct and courage, added "To the bravery of this gallant officer, I owe my life."

The interest taken in his behalf was proved by his rapid advancement. Amidst the vacillations of Charles between the french and dutch, he still continued to serve in the english forces left at the disposition of France: and on the 3rd of April 1674, was appointed by Louis, colonel of the english regiment, which was vacant by the resignation of lord Peterborough. * In this rank he appears to have served during the German campaign of Turenne, and to have been present at the battle of Sinzheim, on the 16th of June, when the imperialists were worsted, and their defeat was followed by the memorable devastation of the Pa-

* His commission is still extant, dated at Versailles, April 3, 1674, signed Louis, and countersigned Tellier, M. P.

latinate. * There is little doubt also that he assisted in some of the military operations between 1675 and 1677, after the death of his patron Turenne. In these active campaigns, so intelligent an officer caught the spirit of his great commanders,

† This fact is questioned by the dutch biographer of Marlborough, as well as by other writers, because Lediard has asserted that he did not serve in 1674, on account of the recent peace, and because, as they imagine, the english troops were recalled from the french service before the battle of Sinzheim. This opinion is manifestly erroneous; for notwithstanding the accommodation with Holland, Charles permitted the 6000 english troops to continue in the french service; and the date of colonel Churchill's commission proves him to have been in the army only two months before the battle. Besides, we have the authority of his chaplain, Mr. Hare, afterwards bishop of Chichester, who compiled the journal of the campaign in 1704, and who states the fact in the clearest terms, though he has mistaken the situation of the place.

" The 15th of June," he observes, " His Grace advanced to Sinzheim, which he could not but remember since the year 1674, when he there commanded an english regiment under that great general marshal Turenne, in the memorable battle fought between him and the imperial generals, the duke of Loraine, and count Caprara."

This journal was read by Marlborough himself, as we learn from a letter of Cardonel to secretary Harley, dated Sept. 25, 1704.

The duke of Marlborough must also have been in this quarter in 1676, or 1677, because we find a letter to him from the widow St. Just, dated Metz, July 16, 1711, reminding him of the favour he had shewn her *thirty-four years* before, and reclaiming his protection.

Metz, 16 *Juillet* 1711.

" Il est bien difficile que je puisse oublier un seigneur comme vous, et je me fais un devoir indispensable de me souvenir toute ma vie des bontés que vous avez eues pour moi à Metz il y a *trente-quatre ans*. Vous étiez bien jeune, monseigneur, mais vous donniez dès lors, par vos excellentes qualités, l'espérance d'une valeur, d'une politesse, et d'une conduite qui vous ont mis avec justice dans un rang à commander à tous les hommes. Et ce qu'il y a de plus glorieux, monseigneur, c'est que toute la terre, amis et ennemis, rendent temoignage à la verité que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire, et j'ose vous dire que votre générosité à mon égard s'est fait ressentir, puisque les partis qui sont venus brûler tout auprès de ma terre de Mezeray, dans la plaine, ont epargné ma terre, en disant qu'il étoit commandé par un grand seigneur."

matured and exercised his talents, and laid the foundation of that consummate skill, which rendered him the wonder of his contemporaries, and the admiration of succeeding ages.

During this interval, colonel Churchill occasionally exchanged his military labours for attendance on his royal patron, the duke of York, who, in 1673, had appointed him gentleman of his bed-chamber, and afterwards raised him to the post of master of the robes.

So handsome and accomplished an officer, could not fail to be entangled in the gallantries of a dissipated court. But we spare the reader the detail of these irregularities, which are doubtless exaggerated by the licentious pens of that and subsequent times. We shall barely advert to an anecdote, which has obtained credit, relative to a connection with the duchess of Cleveland, whom he is accused of treating afterwards with the basest ingratitude. The falsity of this tale will be sufficiently shewn by the observation that it is originally drawn from so impure and questionable a source as the New Atalantis.* Admitting however, that colonel Churchill

* Mrs. Manley, from whom the scandal-mongers of the time drew their information, was one of the most abandoned women of her age. She wrote the New Atalantis under the auspices of the tories, and in her licentious romances laboured to vilify the characters of those who were politically adverse to her protectors. Among these she has singled out the duke of Marlborough, whom she designates under the name of count Fortunatus; and makes him an agent in the most improbable and romantic adventures. This woman was imprisoned for some of her lampoons; but Swift, in the true spirit of party, did not blush to recommend her for a remuneration as having suffered in the tory cause. She was also employed by that party in writing the Examiner, after Swift had relinquished it, and he allows that he supplied her with some of his

might have experienced the liberality of the duchess, we need not seek for the cause in an intercourse of gallantry, if we consider that he had a strong claim to her protection from affinity, being nearly related to her on the side of his mother, who was her cousin.*

Whatever may have been the conduct of colonel Churchill during the fervour of youth, and amidst the temptations of a dissolute court, his irregularities soon yielded to the influence of a purer passion,

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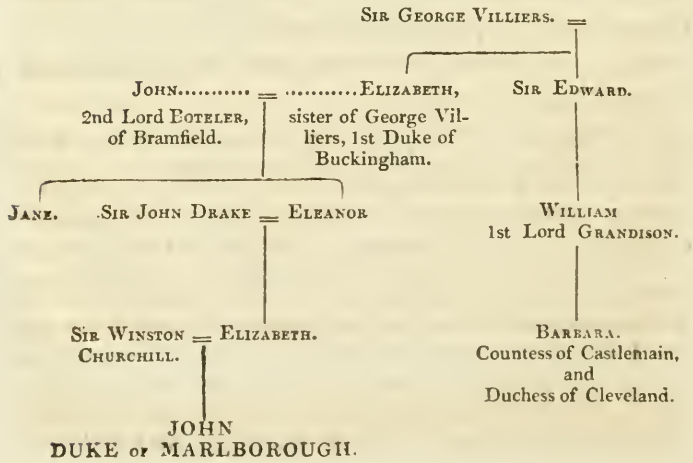
venom to asperse Marlborough, and other eminent statesmen. The real opinion which her employers entertained of her character and work, may be gathered from their own description in the Miscellanies.

Her conversation all gallant is,
Of scandal now a cornucopia;
She pours it out in Atalantis,
Or Memoirs of a new Utopia.

* GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

SHEWING THE CONNECTIONS OF THE DRAKE FAMILY WITH THAT OF VILLIERS.



which recalled him from licentious connections, and gave a colour to his future life: we allude to his courtship and marriage with Miss Sarah Jennings, daughter of Richard Jennings, esq., of Sandridge, near St. Alban's, a gentleman of an antient and distinguished lineage.

The family of Jennings, like that of Churchill, was devoted to the royal cause, and consequently enjoyed considerable favour at court, after the Restoration; for we find two daughters of Mr. Jennings at an early period filling honourable situations in the royal household.

Frances, the eldest, one of the most lovely women of the age, was placed about the person of the duchess of York. She first espoused Sir George Hamilton, grandson of James, second earl of Abercorn, a maréchal de camp in the french service. He died in 1667, leaving issue by her, three daughters; and she married secondly Richard Talbot, who after the revolution was distinguished for his attachment to the exiled monarch, and by him created duke of Tyrconnel. *

Sarah, the younger sister, was also introduced into the court of the duchess of York, at the early age of twelve. She grew up under the protection of her royal patroness, and became the companion of the princess Anne. Though not so transcendantly lovely as her sister, her animated countenance and commanding figure attracted numerous admirers; and even in the dawn of beauty she re-

* He was attainted, and died abroad, in 1691. For a particular account of this lady, see the entertaining memoirs of the count Grammont, written by her brother-in-law, Anthony, count Hamilton.

ceived advantageous offers of marriage from different persons of consideration, among whom we may reckon the earl of Lindsay, afterwards marquis of Ancaster.* In the midst of a licentious court, she maintained an unspotted reputation, and was as much respected for her prudence and propriety of conduct, as she was admired for the charms of her person and the vivacity of her conversation.

Of this young lady colonel Churchill became enamoured when she had scarcely completed her sixteenth year; and his person, politeness, and amenity of manners, joined with his reputation for bravery, made an early and deep impression on her heart. The interest which the duchess herself took in this important event of her youth, prompted her to preserve many of the letters which passed during their courtship.

Nothing is perhaps more trivial than the general correspondence of lovers. Still however the minutest feelings of a great mind are not without interest, and it gratifies our natural curiosity to trace the sentiments of extraordinary characters in those situations into which they fall in common with the generality of mankind. The letters of the colonel and his future consort, display the peculiar features of their respective characters; and shew the origin and growth of that deep and ardent attachment to which he owed a higher degree both of happiness and disquietude than usually accompanies the nuptial union. His notes in particular

* Letter from Mr. Maynwaring to the duchess of Marlborough.

breathe a romantic tenderness and keen sensibility, which appear foreign to the general sedateness of his character. Indeed this correspondence fully exemplifies the eulogium afterwards paid to him by king William, that to the coolest head he united the warmest heart. The letters of the lady evince, on the other hand, the vivacity and petulance of her temper; and display that alternate haughtiness and courtesy which gave her so powerful a command over the passions of those to whom she was attached.

The courtship passed through the usual forms of coyness and ardour, professions on the part of the lover, and reserve on the part of the lady; and was attended with numberless complaints and apologies, bickerings and reconciliations. Several obstacles also gave strength to their mutual passion, as well as retarded their union. The first difficulty arose from the want of a competent establishment. Colonel Churchill could not expect any fortune from his father, who had several children, and was embarrassed in circumstances; and his own actual income consisted in places and emoluments at court, with an annuity of £500, which he had purchased from lord Halifax in 1674. * The family property of the lady was more ample than that of her lover, but was considerably incumbered, by the provision made for the establishment of her grandfather's numerous issue. †

* Among the Blenheim papers is the original agreement, dated in 1674, stating, that colonel Churchill had purchased from lord Halifax an annuity of £500 per annum, for the sum of £4,500.

† Letter from the duchess of Marlborough to a friend, bishop Burnet, M. P.

Her portion therefore at this period was small; and it was not till some time after the marriage that it was augmented, by the death of her brothers without issue. Some pecuniary arrangement appears to have been proposed in their favour by the duchess of York, but at first it was rejected by the lady, in a fit of spleen and dissatisfaction.

The next obstacle was derived from the opposition of sir Winston and lady Churchill, who were anxious to unite their son with a lady of considerable fortune, though less favoured with the gifts of nature than miss Jennings. The report of this alliance being circulated, awakened her alarm and resentment, and she not only reproached him with selfishness and infidelity, but with affected disinterestedness urged him to renounce an attachment which militated against his worldly prospects. At the same time she declared that, to escape from his further importunities, she would accompany her sister, the countess of Hamilton, on an intended journey to Paris. This reproach drew from the lover a warm remonstrance against her injustice and cruelty, and a pathetic appeal to her affection, which was not made in vain.

The reconciliation was soon followed by their marriage, but at what precise time it took place we have not been able to ascertain, though it must have been in the beginning of 1678.* The cere-

* The biographers of the duke, as well as historians in general, place his marriage as late as 1681, which cannot be correct, because Henrietta, the eldest daughter, was born July 20, 1681, which is proved by the entry of her baptism, in the register of St. Martin's in the Fields, communicated by the vicar, archdeacon Pott, as well as by an entry of the duchess in the family Bible, now in possession of earl Spencer.

mony was privately performed in the presence of the duchess of York, who honoured the bride with gifts of considerable value, and was not declared for some months.* From the time of his marriage, till 1683, colonel Churchill had no settled home, but submitted to frequent separations from his beloved wife. Being attached to the service of the duke of York, he was hurried from place to place, sometimes dispatched on missions of importance abroad, and sometimes following the emigrations of his royal patron during his banishment from court.

As I have fixed the date of this marriage at a much earlier period than is generally supposed, I think it necessary to assign my reasons:

1. The duchess, in an endorsement to one of the love-letters, observes, "I was fifteen when this was written," which shows that their courtship commenced as early as 1675, for she was born in 1660.

2. The marriage had taken place before colonel Churchill wrote the letter hereafter quoted, dated "Antwerp, April 5." Now this letter must have been written in April, 1678, because we find by two letters from the duke of York to the prince of Orange, dated April 2 and 7 of that year, that colonel Churchill was then sent by the king to adjust the military arrangements between the prince of Orange and the Spaniards. These letters are printed by Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 207. To this mission a reference is plainly made in the colonel's letter to his lady. One of his letters dated Brussels, April 12, 1678, also begins, "I writ to you from Antwerp, &c." It is directed to Mrs. Jennings, but is endorsed by the duchess in the latter period of her life, "I believe I was married when this letter was writ; but it was not known to any but the duchess" (of York).

3. This is corroborated by the subsequent letters, which are addressed to "Mrs. Churchill at Mintern," one of which is dated Margate, Sept. 8, 1678, when he was on his voyage to Holland with the British troops, and forced back by contrary winds. It agrees also with the date of his departure, which is proved, from the warrant of the duke of Monmouth, to have been Sept. 5, 1678.

* On one of these billets-doux is an endorsement by the lady, "This letter was written when he was to settle the time of marrying me with the duchess" (of York).

Soon after his marriage, colonel Churchill obtained a regiment of foot, and his commission bears date February 17th, 1677-8. This appointment was also the prelude to a mission of peculiar delicacy. Charles and his brother being incensed against the king of France for refusing to increase the pensions by which he had purchased their connivance at his ambitious designs, affected a disposition to renew the triple alliance. Charles appealed to the parliament, made military preparations, and opened a communication with the prince of Orange, who had recently espoused his niece the princess Mary. Colonel Churchill was the agent selected on this occasion to concert measures with the prince; and is mentioned in the letters of the duke of york as possessing the full confidence both of his brother and himself.*

A letter from the colonel to his lady ascertains the period of this mission, which has hitherto escaped the notice of his biographers.

"*Brussels, April* 12.

"I writ to you from Antwerp, which I hope you have received before now; for I would be glad you should hear from me by every post. I met with some difficulties in my business with the prince of Orange, so that I was forced to write to England, which will cause me to be two or three days longer abroad than I should have been. But because I would lose no time, I dispatch all other things in the mean time, for I do with all my heart and

* Letters from the duke of York to the prince of Orange, April 2 and 7, 1678. — Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 208, 8vo.

soul long to be with you, you being dearer to me than my own life. On Sunday morning I shall leave this place, so that on Monday at night I shall be at Breda, where the prince and princess of Orange are; and from thence you shall be sure to hear from me again. Till when, my soul's soul, farewell."

This mission was preparatory to the embassy of sir William Temple, for the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance with the United Provinces; and was followed by the embarkation of a considerable body of troops to reinforce the spanish and dutch armies. Although the arrangement was ultimately of no avail, it was an important transaction in the life of colonel Churchill, because it enabled him to appreciate the character and principles of the great prince, by whom Europe was afterwards rescued from slavery, and England from papal bondage.

On his return, the colonel found the english government actively employed in carrying his arrangements into effect, and was selected as one of the officers destined for this service.

He spent part of the summer at Mintern with his parents, who were now reconciled to his lady. But, towards the beginning of August, he was suddenly summoned to join the expedition which was then ready to depart for the continent. He quitted with regret the society of his beloved wife and family, and repairing to London, received from the duke of York the notice of his destination.

The forces being dispatched from England, the allied armies prepared to act against the french.

The duke of Monmouth, as british commander in chief, joined the prince of Orange with a considerable reinforcement; while a large body of troops, under the earl of Ossory, acted with the spanish army. Lord Feversham, with the remainder, was on the point of his departure, and colonel Churchill was among the officers who embarked in this division, in virtue of a warrant from the duke of Monmouth, dated September 3. 1678, authorising him, as eldest brigadier of foot, to command a brigade in Flanders, consisting of two battalions of guards, one dutch regiment, and the regiments of the prince and colonel Legge.* In his passage, being driven into Margate by contrary winds, he wrote to his wife at Mintern, announcing that he should not be called into the field, and predicting a speedy accommodation.†

This prediction was verified, for he had scarcely reached the continent, before he heard that the prince of Orange had signed a treaty with the french, which was the prelude to a general peace. The english troops were recalled, and the colonel hastened to England to rejoin the society in which all his affections were centered.‡

* Original warrant in the Marlborough Papers.

† Colonel Churchill to his Lady, Margate, Sept. 8. — Marlborough Papers.

‡ Besides the early correspondence and documents preserved at Blenheim, we have consulted the earliest Life of the Duke of Marlborough, published in 1713, under the title of Lives of the two illustrious generals, John duke of Marlborough, and Francis Eugene, prince of Savoy. — Lediard, and the dutch biographer Vryer: also Tindal, Dalrymple, Kennett, and the other historians and memoir writers of the times.

CHAPTER 2.

1674—1684.

Attendance of colonel Churchill on the duke of York during his various peregrinations.—Employed on several political missions.—Birth of his eldest daughter.—Created a Peer of Scotland by the title of lord Churchill of Aymouth.—Military promotion.—Rise of his wife's favour with the princess Anne.

We must refer the reader to the histories of the times, for an account of the religious and party feuds which agitated the parliament and nation during the remaining part of the reign of Charles, together with the attempts made, either to exclude the duke of York from the throne, as a papist, or to limit his authority, in case of his accession. Nor shall we enter into the shameless cabals of the king, the duke of York, and many of the party in opposition with Louis the fourteenth. Colonel Churchill took no public share in these intrigues and contentions; and it is probable that he did not accept a seat in the house of commons, from a consciousness that the frankness of his temper would involve him in political broils. Yet as he confided in the solemn promises of the duke of York not to interfere in the national religion, gratitude as well as interest prompted him

to consider the conduct of the party in opposition as equally disrespectful, unjust, and unconstitutional. To a confidential friend, who has given the earliest account of his life, he observed, "Though I have an aversion to popery, yet I am no less averse to persecution for conscience sake. I deem it the highest act of injustice to set any one aside from his inheritance, upon bare suppositions of intentional evils, when nothing that is actual appears to preclude him from the exercise of his just rights."* But although such were his sentiments, he was too firmly devoted to the church of England to suffer his attachment and gratitude to outweigh the obligations of duty and conscience; and he continued to profess the protestant religion, at a time when a real or pretended conversion was construed into an act of merit, by the prince on whom he depended.

His attachment to his religion did not, however, diminish the confidence reposed in him by his royal patron; for, in the continual negotiations of James with his brother and the king of France, we find him frequently charged with the most secret commissions. When the duke of York was compelled to quit England, in March 1679, he attended him to the Hague and to Brussels, and was accompanied by his wife, who then filled a place in the household of the duchess.

James being soon afterwards summoned to England, by a secret order from the king, who was

* Lives of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, printed in 1713, octavo, p. 13.

seriously indisposed, was accompanied in his journey by the colonel. On their arrival at Windsor, they found the king recovered, but the presence of the duke of York produced a favourable effect; and though he could not obtain permission to remain at court, he was allowed to transfer his residence to Scotland. During the short interval of this visit, the colonel was dispatched to Paris, to accelerate a treaty between Charles and Louis. He was charged with a letter of recommendation from James, who designates him as the master of his wardrobe, to whom entire credit might be given. *

He returned with the duke to Brussels; and when James established his residence in Scotland, he was, as on other occasions, his constant attendant. During the journey, as well as after his arrival at Edinburgh, on the 4th December, 1679, we find a few affectionate letters addressed to his wife, whom he had left in London. †

James was too deeply interested in the succession to the crown to remain tranquil in Scotland; for on the 24th of February, 1680, he returned to the capital. After a residence of a few months, during which the colonel was again employed in some honourable missions, he was driven back into Scotland by the efforts of the popular party, Churchill was again his attendant, and enjoyed the happiness of his wife's society, who was in the suite of the duchess of York.

* Life of James the Second. — Macpherson, vol. i. p. 94. And his Life, edited by Clarke, vol. i. p. 565.

† Dalrymple, Appendix to ch. 4. vol. i. p. 321. 8vo.

In January, 1681, he was dispatched by James to London. The first object of this mission was, to press the king not to assemble the parliament, which in the agitated state of the public mind, the duke was apprehensive might propose measures calculated for his own exclusion from the throne, or at least might establish such restrictions, as would greatly limit his power, in case of his accession. The second object was to dissuade the king from forming such alliances with Spain and Holland, as would involve him in a war with France, and consequently in the language of James "render him a slave to his parliament." To this was added a third, namely, a direct alliance with France, which he was charged to represent as the only expedient for the support of the king, and the preservation of the prerogative, without which the country must again fall under the government of a commonwealth. The last point was, to solicit permission for the duke to return, at least for a limited period; or, if this could not be effected, to obtain for him additional powers, and the command of the forces in Scotland.

The extreme delicacy of this commission is proved by the strict injunction given to colonel Churchill not to communicate it to the ministers, especially to lord Halifax. By additional directions he was enjoined to press the king to the adoption of resolute counsels, which, as James contended, the experience of the preceding year had proved to be safest.

Arriving at court, colonel Churchill found the king too much alarmed to embrace the violent

counsels of his brother; yet the dexterous negotiator acquired a new title to the confidence of his patron, by the extreme address with which he executed his commission, and the impression which his representations made on the mind of the king. On his return he gave James a satisfactory account of the state of parties, and of the ministry; and prevailed on him not to re-appear at court, during the bustle of the new elections, lest his presence should awaken suspicion, and exasperate his enemies. *

In the course of the same year, he was deputed several times to London, to promote the interests of his master, and accelerate the conclusion of the long pending treaty with France. In this negotiation the colonel took an active part, and the dispatches of the french minister, Barillon, prove that he counteracted the insidious suggestions of the french monarch, to inflame the mind of James, and provoke a civil war.

Soon after his return to Scotland, he was hailed as a father; for his lady, who had accompanied the duchess, was delivered in London of her first daughter Henrietta, on the 19th of July, † 1681. Several of his letters prove that the pleasing hopes and anticipations of a parent beguiled the pain of his frequent absences. To avoid endless repetitions of the same tender sentiments, we shall insert

* Life of James II., v. i. p. 658. 666.

† The entry of her baptism occurs in the parish register of St. Martin's in the Fields, communicated by the kindness of the vicar, the Rev. Archdeacon Pott. It is also entered in the family Bible, in the duchess's own hand; communicated by earl Spencer.

merely a single extract, to prove that the professions of the husband were scarcely less ardent than those of the lover.

" *Jan.* 3. 1679.— I writ to you last night by the express, and since that I have no good news to send you. The yachts are not yet come, nor do we know when they will, for the wind is directly against them, so that you may believe that I am not in a very good humour, since I desire nothing so much as being with you. The only comfort I had here was hearing from you, and now if we should be stopped by contrary winds, and not hear from you, you may guess with what satisfaction I shall then pass my time; therefore as you love me, you will pray for fair winds, so that we may not stay here, nor be long at sea.

" I hope all the red spots of our child will be gone, against I see her, and her nose strait, so that I may fancy it to be like the mother; for as she has your coloured hair, I would have her be like you in all things else. Till next post day farewell. By that time I hope we shall hear of the yachts, for till I do, I shall have no kind of patience."

We shall here insert another letter, though written after the birth of Anne, his second daughter, because it exhibits a picture, equally pleasing, of parental and conjugal affection.

" *Tunbridge.* — You cannot imagine how I am pleased with the children; for they having nobody but their maid, they are so fond of me, that when I am at home, they will be always with me, kissing and hugging me. Their heats are quite gone; so that against you come home they will be in beauty.

If there be room I will come on Monday, so that you need not write on Sunday.

" Miss is pulling me by the arm, that she may write to her dear mamma; so that I shall say no more, only beg that you will love me always as well as I love you, and then we cannot but be happy."

To gratify the playful importunities of the child, he concludes the letter with a postscript in her name.

" I kiss your hands, my dear mamma.

" HARRIET."

In the different peregrinations of James, during this period of agitation and alarm, colonel Churchill was his constant attendant, except while employed on his different missions. He was also the principal channel of the private communications between the two royal brothers. *

When the popular party, and those called the exclusionists, were defeated, and Charles had attained the power of giving his brother a permanent establishment at court, colonel Churchill accompanied his royal patron on his triumphant return, in 1682. He also attended him on board the Gloucester yacht, when that ship was wrecked near the Lemon and Ore in Yarmouth roads, and so many persons of consideration perished. The colonel was one among the fortunate few who escaped, being invited by James himself to take his place in the boat, which put off to shore, as soon as the loss of the vessel was found to be inevitable.

* Lord Sunderland, secretary of state, to colonel Churchill, December 23. MS.

On this return of prosperity, James did not suffer the services of his faithful attendant to pass unrewarded. He was soon afterwards created, by letters patent, baron Churchill of Aymouth, in Scotland, and on the 19th of November, 1683, was appointed colonel of the royal regiment of horse-guards, then about to be raised. *

It was at this period the intention of lord Churchill, that his wife should withdraw from court; but the marriage of the princess Anne afforded an opportunity of placing her in a post, which was no less honourable than gratifying to her feelings, that of lady of her royal highness's bed-chamber.

When Miss Jennings was first introduced into the household of the duchess of York, she was noticed by the princess Anne, then about three years younger than herself. An affectionate disposition on the part of the princess, and on that of her youthful associate, the most captivating vivacity, soon rendered them inseparable companions. Habitual intercourse ripened their mutual partiality into the most tender friendship, and at this early period we trace the rise of that romantic affection, which long reigned between them. To her friend and confidante the princess recurred in all the momentous as well as in the trifling incidents of her life; and at the time when the zeal of James for popery spread the utmost alarm throughout the nation, the princess drew from the counsel and encouragement of her friend, additional motives of attachment to that system of worship in which she

* This commission is still extant among the family papers.

was educated; and which she considered as endangered by the avowed principles of her *father. The princess pressed the appointment of her favourite with affectionate zeal, and announced it to her in a letter full of satisfaction and tenderness.

" The duke came in just as you were gone, and made no difficulties, but has promised me that I shall have you, which I assure you is a great joy to me: I should say a great deal for your kindness in offering it, but I am not good at compliments. I will only say, that I do take it extreme kindly, and shall be ready at any time to do you all the service that lies in my power."

In this situation, and amidst the momentous incidents which marked the period, their intimacy gained new strength, until it rose to a degree of confidence and affection seldom witnessed. One of the many letters, written at this time, will show the style they reciprocally adopted, and the anxiety of the princess to set aside the restraints of high rank and etiquette.

" *Winchester, Sept.* 20. — I writ to you last Wednesday from on board the yacht, and left my letter on Thursday morning at Portsmouth, to go by the post, to be as good as my word in writing to my dear lady Churchill by the first opportunity. I was in so great haste when I writ, that I fear what I said was nonsense, but I hope you have so much kindness for me as to forgive it * * *

* From the Conduct it appears, not only that means were used to convert the princess, but that lures were held forth to lady Churchill herself, by her brother-in-law, lord Tyrconnel, to use her influence with the princess, and even to renounce her own religion. Conduct, p. 16.

" If you will not let me have the satisfaction of hearing from you again before I see you, let me beg of you not to call me your highness at every word, but to be as free with me as one friend ought to be with another; and you can never give me any greater proof of your friendship, than in telling me your mind freely in all things, which I do beg you to do; and if ever it were in my power to serve you, no body would be more ready than myself. I am all impatience for Wednesday, till when farewell."

This correspondence became daily more confidential, till at length, to set aside the restraints of rank and custom, the princess offered her friend the choice of two feigned names, under which she proposed to continue their intercourse: " I," says the duchess, " chose the name of Freeman, as more conformable to the frankness of my disposition, and the princess adopted that of Morley." * Their style soon assumed the tone which this expedient was calculated to give; and their letters display a degree of familiarity and tenderness which seldom exists, even between equals in the higher ranks of society.

* Conduct, p. 14.

CHAPTER 3.

1684—1689.

Accession of James the second. — Lord Churchill created a British Peer. — His rising favour. — Embassy to Paris. —Expedition against the duke of Monmouth. — Battle of Sedgemoor. — Alarmed at the king's attempts to introduce popery. — Correspondence with the prince of Orange. — His conduct during and after the revolution.

From the marriage of the princess Anne, till the death of Charles the second, in February, 1684-5, lord Churchill does not appear on the theatre of public affairs.

The accession of James, by whose favour he had been so long distinguished, naturally opened to his view the prospect of higher honours and a more exalted fortune. Indeed, the first act of the new sovereign was, to charge his tried and confidential servant with a mission to Paris, for the purpose of notifying his accession, and gratefully acknowledging the largesses which he had recently received from the french monarch.

Hitherto lord Churchill had regarded with indulgence the failings of a prince, to whom he was bound by so many ties of respect and gratitude. But he was not so far biassed by gratitude or am-

bition as to forget his duty to his religion and country; and in a conversation with lord Galway, during his embassy at Paris, he observed, "If the king should attempt to change our religion and constitution, I will instantly quit his *service." Like many others, however, he at first gave credit to the solemn declarations of James, and waited with patience, though not without apprehension, to discover whether the conduct of the monarch would accord with his professions.

His embassy to Paris being a mere temporary mission, he returned to England as soon as he had executed his orders, bearing strong testimonials of satisfaction and confidence, from the french king to James.

"*Versailles, March* 8. 1685.

"Sir, my Brother;

"I felt as I ought the loss of the late king of Great Britain, and your care in sending lord Churchill expressly to announce it to me. As I cannot doubt that you will give to his report the same credence that I have given to what he communicated to me from you, I refer you to him for the rest, and particularly for the confidence which you may place in my friendship."†

Lord Churchill attended at the coronation of James, on the 23d of April; and on the 14th of May, he was raised to the english Peerage, by the title of Baron Churchill, of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford.

* Burnet; from the information of lord Galway, vol. iii. p. 216.

† Translation from the original, in the Mallet Papers.

Soon afterwards, the invasion of the duke of Monmouth gave him an opportunity to signalize both his loyalty and military talents. He was appointed to command the forces then assembled at Salisbury, consisting of six troops of horse, and nine companies of foot*; and to this charge was added the rank of brigadier. With this small corps he performed essential service, by his vigilance and activity; he kept his troops in continual motion, scouring the country, collecting intelligence, and dispersing the scattered bands of the rebels, though superior in number. These frequent and well-timed expeditions spread dismay and confusion among the disaffected, awed the secret partisans of Monmouth, and repressed that zeal for his cause which was manifested by the lower classes in Somersetshire. During this short struggle he was promoted to the rank of major-general, by a commission dated July 1. 1685.

While lord Churchill was at Chard, at the head of his own corps and the regiment of Dorsetshire militia, he received a summons from the duke of Monmouth, claiming his allegiance as king of England, and enjoining him to desist from hostilities.

Lord Churchill dismissed the trumpeter, and sent the letter to James as a ridiculous †bravado. The only answer which he gave was, to continue his exertions in harassing the rebels; and it is generally allowed that his skill and activity com-

* These commissions are dated June 15. 1685; and June 19. M. P.

† Secret History of Europe, part ii. p. 189. and part iii. p. 123.; in which the author informs us the same summons was sent to the duke of Albemarle.

pelled Monmouth to concentrate his forces, and precipitate an engagement.

In the battle of Sedgemoor, which decided the fate of Monmouth, the vigilance of lord Churchill prevented the mischiefs which were likely to result from the negligence of the commander in chief, lord Feversham. He not only saved the royal army from a surprise, on the eve of that memorable engagement; but by his courage and decision greatly contributed to the success of the day. For his services in this battle he was appointed colonel of the third troop of *horse-guards.

From the time of this expedition we find no particular mention of lord Churchill, till the closing scene of James's reign; a remarkable circumstance, when we consider the favour and confidence he had hitherto enjoyed. Possibly the discordance of his principles, political and religious, with those of the sovereign, may have produced some coolness; and at all events he continued to profess his attachment to the protestant church, at a time when James did not disdain to employ both persuasion and influence to make converts among those who were more immediately attached to his person. Whatever was the cause, lord Churchill was not raised to any office of state; and the short reign of James offered no farther scope to military talents. Indeed, when we consider the bigoted and arbitrary character of the monarch, we ought rather to wonder that Churchill escaped disgrace, than that he was not distinguished by any accession of honour.

* His commission is dated August 1. 1686.

In proportion as the arbitrary designs of James were developed, we find his confidential adherents, and even the members of his own family, expressing their alarm at the consequences of his fanatic zeal for the roman catholic religion. A letter from the princess Anne to lady Churchill, shows the impression made by the introduction of four popish peers, lords Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover, into the privy council, in 1686.

"I was very much surprised when I heard of the four new privy counsellors, and am very sorry for it; for it will give great countenance to those sort of people, and methinks it has a very dismal prospect. Whatever changes there are in the world, I hope you will never forsake me, and I shall be happy."

When such were the feelings of a daughter, we cannot be surprised to find lord Churchill adhering to the resolution which he had announced to lord Galway. The arbitrary declaration of indulgence, which was issued on the 10th of April, 1687, seems at length to have awakened his alarm for the civil and religious liberties of his country; and the proceedings in favour of the papists, which immediately followed, gave additional strength to his apprehensions. He was therefore among the first who made overtures to the prince of Orange: he conveyed assurances of his attachment to the protestant cause, through Dykvelt, the agent of the prince, and Mr. Russel and Mr. Sidney, the two great movers of the subsequent revolution. At the same time he announced, in a letter to the prince of Orange, the determination of the princess

Anne rather to abandon her misguided father than to sacrifice her religion, a resolution to which his exhortations, as well as those of his lady, had essentially contributed.

"*May* 17. 1687. — The princess of Denmark having ordered me to discourse with monsieur Dykvelt, and to let him know her resolutions, so that he might let your highness and the princess her sister know that she was resolved, by the assistance of God, to suffer all extremities, even to death itself, rather than be brought to change her religion, I thought it my duty to your highness and the princess royal, by this opportunity of monsieur Dykvelt, to give you assurances under my own hand, that my places and the king's favour I set at nought, in comparison of being true to my religion. In all things but this the king may command me; and I call God to witness, that even with joy I should expose my life for his service, so sensible am I of his favours. I know the troubling you, sir, with thus much of myself, I being of so little use to your highness, is very impertinent, but I think it may be a great ease to your highness and the princess to be satisfied that the princess of Denmark is safe in the trusting of me; I being resolved, although I cannot live the life of a saint, if there be ever occasion for it, to show the resolution of a martyr. — I am, with all respect, sir," &c.*

Lord Churchill, however, was not among the

* This letter is printed in all the histories of the times, and a copy is preserved among the papers at Blenheim.

number of those who dissembled their real sentiments, or flattered the bigotry and infatuation of the king. On the contrary, to the last moment, he laboured to rouse the inconsiderate monarch to a sense of his danger, before it was too late, and seized every opportunity to remonstrate, in strong though respectful terms, against his attacks on the religious establishment, and the arbitrary system of government which he was endeavouring to introduce.

Lord Churchill waited on the king, in the progress which he made during the summer of 1687, with the view of reconciling the people to the recent innovations. At Winchester James touched in the cathedral several persons for the king's evil, and two roman catholic priests officiated as chaplains. After the ceremony lord Churchill attended his majesty to the deanery, and being alone with him in the garden, before dinner, the king said, "Well, Churchill, what do my subjects say about this ceremony of touching in the church?" "Truly," replied lord Churchill, "they do not approve it; and it is the general opinion that your majesty is paving the way for the introduction of popery." "How!" exclaimed the king, "Have I not given my royal word, and will they not believe their king? I have given liberty of conscience to others; I was always of opinion that toleration was necessary for all Christian people; and most certainly I will not be abridged of that liberty myself, nor suffer those of my own religion to be prevented from paying their devotions to God in their own way." His majesty having

uttered these words with great warmth, lord Churchill ventured to observe, "What I spoke, sir, proceeded partly from my zeal for your majesty's service, which I prefer above all things next to that of God; and I humbly beseech your majesty to believe that no subject in the three kingdoms will venture farther than I will to purchase your favour and good liking. But as I have been bred a protestant, and intend to live and die in that communion, as above nine parts in ten of the whole people are of that persuasion, and I fear (which I say from excess of duty) from the genius of the English, and their natural aversion to the roman catholic worship, some consequences which I dare not so much as name, and which I cannot contemplate without horror—" "I tell you, Churchill," said the king, interrupting him, "I will exercise my own religion in such a manner as I shall think fitting; I will show favour to my catholic subjects, and be a common father to all my protestants of what religion soever; but I am to remember that I am a king, and to be obeyed by them. As for the consequences I shall leave them to Providence, and make use of the power God has put into my hands to prevent any thing that shall be injurious to my honour, or derogatory to the duty that is owing to me."*

At the conclusion of these words the king abruptly broke off the conversation, and returned

* From the account of the duke of Marlborough's earliest biographer, who was present at the dinner, and received the relation of what had passed from lord Churchill himself.—Lives of Marlborough and Eugene, p. 19.

to the deanery. During the dinner his manner proved how much he resented this freedom, for he principally addressed himself to the dean, who stood behind his chair, and discoursed the whole time on passive obedience.

If any thing could prove the sincerity of lord Churchill, and his grateful attachment to his misguided master, it was this honest but unwelcome remonstrance. We therefore need seek no farther justification of his subsequent conduct, when he found himself reduced to the sad necessity of deserting his religion, or abandoning the cause of his royal benefactor.

The communication which lord Churchill had already opened with the prince of Orange, was doubtless maintained during the winter of 1687, when the violent acts of the king against the protestant establishment excited daily new sentiments of alarm and indignation. At the moment when the prince was preparing that expedition, which was to deliver the country from popery and arbitrary power, we find lord Churchill conveying to him the most positive declarations of his zeal and attachment.

" Sir, " *August* 4. 1688.

" Mr. Sydney will let you know how I intend to behave myself: I think it is what I owe to God and my country. My honour I take leave to put into your highness's hands, in which I think it safe. If you think there is any thing else that I ought to do, you have but to command me; I shall pay an entire obedience to it, being resolved to die in that religion that it has pleased God to

give you both the will and power to protect. I am, with all respect, sir," &c.*

This letter, with the foregoing messages and confidential communications, coming from a nobleman so closely attached to James, both by gratitude and interest, and so beloved by the army, must have greatly strengthened the resolution of the prince of Orange, for it proved that the misguided zeal of the monarch had even alienated his devoted adherents.

The events of the Revolution are too well known to need recapitulation. It will be sufficient to observe, that after the landing of William, James did not withdraw his confidence from lord Churchill; but entrusted him with the command of a brigade in the army, which he himself led as far as Salisbury, to repel the invasion, and even raised him to the rank of † lieutenant-general. Some suspicion, however, seems to have been conceived against him; for lord Feversham advised the king to arrest him, as an officer whose defection might produce the most alarming impression. James, from fear, policy, or affection, refused to listen to the proposal; but it could not be concealed from the person whom it so nearly regarded, and on the ensuing day lord Churchill went over to the prince with the duke of Grafton, colonel Berkley, and other officers of his own regiment.

If we review the preceding conduct and de-

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Appendix to Book V. vol. ii. p. 121.

† The commission is dated November 7. 1688, and countersigned "Middleton."

clarations of lord Churchill, we shall need no argument to be convinced that a sense of patriotism and religion outweighed in his mind the obligations of gratitude and interest; and that he chose the party which he embraced, from a conviction that no other alternative remained, to save the constitution and church establishment, and that the only design of William was, to fulfil his declaration of restraining the arbitrary spirit of James, and restoring the parliament to its functions and authority. In departing from Salisbury, he left a letter to the king, explaining and vindicating his conduct.

" Sir,

" Since men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act contrary to their interests; and though my dutiful behaviour to your majesty in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services much overpaid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your majesty and the world, that I am actuated by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest obligations to your majesty. This, sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion (which no good man can oppose), and with which

I am instructed nothing can come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majesty has hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your majesty's true interest, and the protestant religion; but as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect; so I will always, with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights, with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes," &c.*

In great revolutions it is common to find the most upright characters maligned, and the purest principles misrepresented. From this fate lord Churchill did not escape; for he has been accused of a design to seize or assassinate the king at the time of his departure.† Such tales may find a

* Lediard, vol. i. p. 75., as well as in all the publications of the times.

† We cannot advert to this atrocious accusation without calling the attention of the reader to the mode in which the favourers of the dethroned monarch have garbled the account given by the king himself or his biographer. We contrast a material clause, as printed by Macpherson, with the original passage from which it was taken:

"After alluding to a violent hæmorrhage, which detained James at Salisbury," Macpherson adds,

"*It is generally* believed had it not been for that accident, that Churchill, Kirke, Trelawney, &c. who deserted soon after, with some in that quarter, had designed to seize the king in going thither or coming back; and have carried him to the prince of Orange."—Macpherson's Papers, vol. i. p. 162.

"This bleeding, which the king was not naturally subject to, happened very providentially; FOR IT WAS GENERALLY BELIEVED AFTERWARDS, that my lord Churchill, Kirke, and Trelawney, with some others in that quarter, had a design to seize the king, either in his going thither or coming back, and so have carried him to the prince of Orange."

momentary credit when the passions of men are heated; but at present to mention, is to refute them.

After retiring from the army of James, his lordship took his route towards the west, and joining the prince at Axminster, was received with distinguished marks of attention and regard. His departure was the signal for a more general defection, not only of those who were openly hostile to James, but even of those who were connected with him by blood. Prince George of Denmark quitted the king at Andover, and repaired to Sherborn, whither the prince of Orange had advanced. At nearly the same time, the princess Anne secretly withdrew from the palace at midnight, in company with lady Churchill, and Mrs. Berkley, and repaired to the lodgings of the bishop of London, with whom her evasion was concerted. Then, directing her course to Northampton, she was escorted by a party of horse to Oxford, where she was met by the prince her husband, with a body of troops from the army of the prince of Orange.

On the approach of William to the capital, and the flight of James to Feversham, lord Churchill was sent forward to reassemble his own troop of horse-guards, and to bring over the soldiers quar-

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Macpherson has also omitted a subsequent clause, which was added by the Biographer of James, and proves the falsehood of the charge that lord Churchill intended to assassinate the king.

"Perhaps they might pretend it was not with intention to have done him any personal harm; only force him to consent to what they thought reasonable."—Clarke's Life of James, &c. vol. i. p. 222, 223.

tered in and about the metropolis. He executed his commission with equal prudence and activity; and carried back so favourable a report concerning the dispositions of the people and army, as induced the prince to hasten to the capital.

After the departure of James, lord Churchill assisted in the convention parliament. He was also one of the peers who associated in support of the prince's declaration, and in defence of his person. But when the design was disclosed of placing the prince on the throne, either alone, or in conjunction with his consort, lord Churchill was among the peers who voted for a regency. At length, however, when the struggle of contending parties rose to such a height as to portend a counter revolution, and there appeared no alternative but to recall James, or confer the crown on William; his lordship, from motives of delicacy, absented himself from the house of peers during the discussion which terminated in the memorable vote declaring the vacancy of the throne. His absence, with that of some other peers, who likewise adhered to the rule of hereditary descent, contributed to the decision of this important question, by a majority of seven voices. The vacancy being thus legally declared, lord Churchill took an active part in the subsequent arrangements. In conjunction with his lady, he persuaded the princess Anne to postpone her own succession to the throne, and to consent to that of the prince and princess of Orange, and thus removed one great obstacle to the settlement of the nation. The change of government was announced on the 6th of February, and Wil-

liam and Mary declared king and queen. The administration was solely vested in the king; while the princess of Denmark and her heirs were declared next in the succession, in preference to the issue of William by any future marriage.*

On the 14th of February lord Churchill was sworn a member of the privy council, and made a lord of the bed-chamber; and two days before the coronation, was raised to the dignity of earl of Marlborough. †

As his paternal seat at Mintern ‡ was assigned to his brother Charles, he fixed his principal residence at Sandridge, near St. Albans, a manor belonging to the family of his wife. This estate, by the death of Richard Jennings, esq. had devolved on his three sisters and coheiresses, Frances, Sarah, and Barbara. As lady Marlborough was partial to her

* Lediard — Ralph — Hume — Tindal — Kennett — Dalrymple — Journals of Lords and Commons — Pere d'Orleans — and Clarendon's Diary.

† He probably took the title of Marlborough, in consequence of a family connection, by his mother's side, with the Leys, earls of Marlborough, which title became extinct in 1679.

John Lord Boteler,
of Brandfield, Herts,
m. Elizabeth, Sister of George Villiers,
Duke of Buckingham.

Jane, *m.* James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, killed in the sea-fight off Lestoffe with the Dutch, in 1665. As he left no issue, the title fell to William, his uncle, who dying in 1679 without issue, it became extinct.	Eleanor, *m.* Sir John Drake. | Elizabeth, *m.* Sir Winston Churchill. | John, Earl and Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

‡ See Introduction, last page.

birth-place, her husband gratified her, by purchasing the share of the two other sisters, and soon after built a mansion on the spot, which was called Holywell House. This residence and property gave him an interest in the borough of St. Albans, for which place, by his influence with James the second, he obtained a new charter of incorporation. He was chosen the first high steward under the new charter; a post which had always been filled by persons of distinction.

The mansion of Holywell * is described by local writers as a building of great magnificence; and was the favourite residence both of lord Marlborough and his lady, till the construction of Blenheim gave him a new interest in a place, which presented the most striking monuments, both of his own and the national glory.

* This estate and mansion being left at the disposal of the duchess, were by her bequeathed to her grand-son John, second son of Charles earl of Sunderland. From him it descended to his son, the first earl Spencer.

CHAPTER 4.

1688—1690.

Marlborough obtains the confidence of the king.—Serves a campaign in the Netherlands.—Expedition to Ireland.—Reduces Cork and Kinsale.—Commencement of his clandestine intercourse with the exiled monarch.—His campaign in the Netherlands, under the king.

After the conclusion of the arrangements arising out of the Revolution, Marlborough appears to have taken little share in public business, except in the settlement of a revenue on the princess Anne.

The princess having announced her acquiescence in the new order of succession, expected that a permanent and independent revenue would have been secured to her for life; as the king had been allowed no less a sum than £600,000 a year for the civil list. Instead, however, of gratifying her expectations, he even showed some reluctance to continue the allowance of £30,000 a year, which she had enjoyed under her father. She was highly incensed at this disappointment, and testified her resolution to appeal to parliament; while the king and queen were no less offended by her wish to acquire an independent establishment. The subject occasioned the most indecorous altercations

between the two royal sisters, and became the source of the subsequent quarrel, which divided the royal family.

Irritated by these disputes, Anne pursued her purpose with redoubled zeal, and her cause was earnestly promoted by the earl and countess of Marlborough. Her pretensions were warmly supported by the tories and disaffected, while the king would rely only on his own personal friends and the zealous whigs. A considerable majority of the parliament was therefore enlisted on the side of the princess, and her claims became generally popular among the great body of the nation.

In this state of the public mind, her friends in the house of commons proposed to grant her an independent revenue of £70,000 a year. To prevent the decision of the question, the king adjourned the parliament. But the princess was of too tenacious a character to relinquish her object, particularly as her party was increased by many who were alienated by the reserve of the king. In this crisis lures and threats were alternately held forth to the countess of Marlborough, with the hope of inducing the princess to desist, through her influence. The countess continued firm, and the question was revived in the house of commons, soon after the commencement of the session. The court now found that opposition was fruitless. With the consent of both parties, the debate was adjourned; and, in the interval, a compromise was effected, by which an annual allowance of £50,000 was settled in parliament, as the civil list of the princess.

The success of this measure being principally

ascribed by Anne to the exertions of the earl and countess of Marlborough, contributed still more to endear them to her, while it rendered them in an equal degree obnoxious to the king and queen. Anne was not tardy in testifying her gratitude for so acceptable a service; and, in an affectionate letter *, offered her favourite an additional salary of £1000 a year. The countess at first declined the generous proposal, from motives of delicacy; but her scruples were over-ruled by the representations of lord Godolphin. †

Though dissatisfied with Marlborough's conduct respecting the settlement of the princess, William was unwilling to lose the services of so able an officer. As his presence was deemed necessary in England, for the regulation of public business, Marlborough was intrusted with the command of the British forces acting against the French in the Netherlands. ‡

On the 27th of May he landed at Rotterdam, and repairing to Maestricht, joined the confederate army, then commanded by the prince of Waldeck. Being inferior to the enemy, they were reduced to act on the defensive, but Marlborough soon found

* Letter from the princess to lady Marlborough, partly printed in the Conduct, p. 36.

†. Journals — Tindal — Boyer — Dalrymple — MS. copies of letters from Mrs. Morley to Mrs. Freeman, with a narrative on the subject, in the hand-writing of the duchess of Marlborough — Conduct, p. 36, 37. — And a letter supposed to have been written by Mr. Wharton to the king — Dalrymple, vol. ii. b. 4. p. 199.

‡ Instructions, &c. to the earl of Marlborough, MS. countersigned "Shrewsbury."

an opportunity to signalize his courage and skill. The hostile armies being separated only by the petty town of Walcourt, the french commander, marshal d'Humieres, on the 25th of August formed the design of surprising his antagonists by an unexpected attack. Fortunately the post of Walcourt was confided to Marlborough, with a force composed of british and foreign troops. He not only checked the advance of the enemy, till the commander in chief could move with the main army; but by a vigorous and well-directed attack on the flank, discomfited the assailants, and forced them to retreat with a serious loss. To this action the army owed their safety; and the prince of Waldeck did ample justice to the skill and promptitude of his younger associate, by declaring that he had manifested greater military talents in a single battle, than generals of longer experience had shown in many years.

In several letters, which are still extant, the king testified his satisfaction at the conduct of Marlborough. They also prove that he performed this exploit, not with troops in high spirit and order, but ill-disciplined, defective in zeal, and labouring under the usual maladies attendant on a long campaign. On the combat of Walcourt, in particular, the king observes:

"I am very happy that my troops behaved so well in the affair of Walcourt. It is to you that this advantage is principally owing. You will please accordingly to accept my thanks, and rest assured that your conduct will induce me to con-

fer on you still farther marks of my esteem and friendship, on which you may always rely."*

Returning to England at the close of the campaign, Marlborough was received with a degree of cordiality which was seldom shewn by so reserved a monarch as William. It seemed natural to expect that he would have been again employed on the theatre where he had acquitted himself with such unqualified approbation; but from some cause, which we are unable to trace, he was not sent to the continent the ensuing campaign. It is, indeed, surmised, and with great probability, that William pressed Marlborough to accompany him to Ireland, whither he was called to contend for the crown with the abdicated monarch himself; but that the earl frankly declined acting against his former sovereign and benefactor. Indeed this supposition is not improbable from his subsequent conduct; for, after the defeat at the Boyne had compelled James to retire to France, he voluntarily tendered his services to reduce Cork and Kinsale, at the time when the presence of William was become necessary in England.

Notwithstanding the obvious necessity of such a vigorous prosecution of the war, before the rebels could again obtain succours from France, it was warmly opposed by several of the ministers in England. Of these the most vehement was the marquis of Caermarthen, who endeavoured to alarm

* Letters of king William to the earl of Marlborough, 16th July, 23d August, and 13th and 23d of September. — Marlborough Papers. Also Lediard, vol. i. p. 93. Histoire du Duc de Marlborough, t. i. p. 56. Henault, 1689.

the queen with the prospect of an invasion, at the moment when so large a force as was required for this enterprise should be drawn out of the kingdom. A reference was made to William, who was still in Ireland; and the timid counsels of the minister being over-ruled, Marlborough, with a body of 5000 men, embarked at Portsmouth for the scene of action.

The departure of the king at this juncture, created general exultation among the partisans of James in Ireland. They flattered themselves that it would enable them to regain the advantage they had lost; but their hopes were damped by the sudden appearance of Marlborough. They were still farther discouraged by the desertion of the duke de Lauzun, with the French auxiliaries, who being panic-struck at the arrival of the reinforcement, abandoned Galway, and returned to France.

Marlborough landed near Cork on the 21st of September, and united with the german and danish troops, who were left under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg. At this moment he experienced those vexatious squabbles, which often arise when high birth and military talents are brought into competition. But by the interposition of brigadier La Mellonerie, a french refugee, a compromise was effected, and the two generals agreed to exercise the command alternately. The first day Marlborough gave *Wirtemberg* as the word; and the compliment was returned by his colleague. The vigour and enterprising spirit of the british general excited equal surprise and satisfaction. During his short stay

in Ireland, which did not exceed thirty-seven days, he reduced Cork and Kinsale, straitened the communications of the insurgents with France, and confined them to the province of Ulster, where they could not subsist without the utmost difficulty.

After this short but brilliant expedition, Marlborough returned with his prisoners to England, in the latter end of October. He was welcomed with the most flattering reception by the king, who said of him, "I know no man who has served so few campaigns, equally fit for command." The english nation also, long accustomed to see the execution of the most important enterprises confided to foreigners, exulted to find that a native officer had gained more advantages in a single month, than many of the foreign generals in several campaigns.

As the services of Marlborough were still deemed necessary in Ireland, he made but a short stay in England. Having reported the state of affairs, he immediately returned, and resumed his command. Till the close of the year he kept the greater part of the island in perfect tranquillity; and conciliated the affections of the inhabitants by his moderation, as well as by the rigid discipline which he established in the army. He checked the incursions of the rebels, who still remained in arms, and secured the advantage he had gained, by constructing forts in several of the provinces. Having thus restored order, he was summoned to England, preparatory to his nomination to a new command on the continent. The estimation in which he was now held by his sovereign is proved

from a confidential correspondence, in which it appears that he was employed to sooth his friend Godolphin, who threatened to relinquish the management of the treasury. In this negotiation he at length succeeded, no less to his own gratification than to that of the king.*

Nothing perhaps can be more singular, if there be any thing singular in times of revolution, than to find two noblemen who had so essentially contributed to the stability of William's throne, as Marlborough and Godolphin, at this very period engaged in a clandestine correspondence with the exiled monarch. But such is the inconsistency of human nature; and such is the fact which has been disclosed by the publication of papers from the pens of James and his confidential adherents. †

This conduct, which it is impossible to justify, yet admits of some palliation, if we consider the circumstances of the times, and the influence of example. The minds of men were not yet become fixed, nor their affections attached to a government of recent origin, and founded on principles which were far from being generally acknowledged. Besides, among the higher orders there were few who did not deem their services undervalued, their zeal ill rewarded, their hopes disappointed, or their pretensions overlooked; while among the great mass of the people, a vast number either became indifferent to the advantages attending the change of government, or were no

* Correspondence between king William, the earl of Marlborough, and lord Godolphin, in 1690-1. — Dalrymple, App. p. 2. b. vii.

† Life of James the Second, vol. ii. p. 444.

less dissatisfied with the reigning sovereign than they had been with his predecessor. Hence we find an intercourse with the exiled family maintained by persons of all ranks and parties, not excepting even some of the active partisans of the revolution.

In a species of infidelity so extensive, which is the prevailing vice of a revolutionary period, it is matter rather of regret than of surprise, to find Marlborough implicated. For this conduct various causes may be assigned. Deeply indebted to the favour of James, it was not till after an anxious struggle between duty and gratitude, that he resolved to abandon his benefactor. The preceding pages will shew his feelings at that interesting crisis; and prove that he was not actuated by personal interest or ambition. Though dissatisfied with the arrangements introduced at the revolution, he yet acquiesced in the change when accomplished; and by accepting honours and employments under the new sovereign, he gave an unqualified assent to the established government. Soon afterwards, however, he, as well as many others of all denominations, was alienated by the endeavours of the king to break down the barriers devised for the security of the national church, and to facilitate the admission of dissenters into the offices of government; a measure scarcely less obnoxious to the tories than the introduction of catholics to the whigs. He was also offended by the cold and repulsive deportment of William towards those who had assisted in the revolution, and the imprudent preference which he uniformly displayed to-

wards his foreign favourites. But the motive which seems more particularly to have actuated Marlborough, as well as many of those who entered into communications with the court of St. Germains, was, the apprehension that a change of public sentiment might eventually restore king James to the throne of his ancestors.

Under the apparent influence of these considerations, Marlborough listened to the overtures of the exiled monarch as early as the commencement of 1691, and through colonel Sackville and Mr. Bulkeley, two of the jacobite agents, he testified in the most unqualified terms his contrition for his past conduct, and anxiety to make amends for his defection. From this period both he and his friend Godolphin occasionally maintained a clandestine intercourse with the court of St. Germains, and even made many communications on the state of public affairs and domestic transactions.

On this intercourse we do not mean to throw the slightest doubt. Still, however, we can admit as the genuine language of Marlborough, only the few letters which he wrote to James, and which are either preserved or specifically mentioned, in the biographical narrative of that monarch; for the reports of spies naturally assume the tincture of their character and views; and such agents are invariably led to exaggeration, either to give interest to their intelligence, or to magnify their zeal and services. In fact, we have the candid avowal of James himself, that Marlborough, when pressed to fulfil the promises he was said to have made, constantly evaded compliance. We must

therefore draw the obvious conclusion, not only that the jacobite agents deceived their employer, but that these professions and communications were merely illusory, and intended to secure an indemnity in case of a counter-revolution. This inference has been so clearly drawn by the monarch himself, that we cannot better express our opinion than in the words of his biographer.

After adverting to the very communication in question, he observes:

"Nevertheless the king found no effects from these mighty promises, for his majesty insisting upon his offer of bringing over the english troops in Flanders, as the greatest service he could do him, he excused himself *under pretence that there was some mistake in the message* *; that it would ruin all to make the troops come over by parcels; that his business was to gain an absolute power over them, then to do all the business at once."

Having related the mode in which Marlborough obtained a promise of pardon for himself, his lady, lord Godolphin, and others, he adds:

"So that, in fine, they were to be pardoned and in security, in case the king returned, and yet to suffer nothing in the interim, nor to give any other proofs of their sincerity, than bare words and empty promises, which, under pretence of being suspected, or doing greater service afterwards, there was never found a suitable time to put the least of them in execution. However, the king

* This remark justifies the conclusion that the jacobite agents had exaggerated the offers of Marlborough.

thought fit to bear with this sort of double dealing, &c." *

This intercourse was either not suspected, or not regarded; for the success of Marlborough in Ireland was the prelude to his establishment in an honourable and confidential post, under William himself. In May, 1691, he accompanied the king to the continent; and was employed in accelerating the military preparations, and assembling the troops for the ensuing campaign. On this occasion he experienced that jealous opposition from the States General and their officers, which afterwards defeated his more important undertakings. Among other suggestions he strongly recommended measures for the security of Mons, the barrier of Flanders; but his advice was rejected, and the place was lost. During this campaign his merit attracted particular notice; and induced discerning judges to prognosticate his future celebrity. Among others, the prince of Vaudemont, being asked by the king to give his opinion on the characters of the english generals, replied, "Kirk has fire, Laneir thought, Mackay skill, and Colchester bravery; but there is something inexpressible in the earl of Marlborough. All their virtues seem to be united in his single person. 'I have lost," he emphatically added, "my wonted skill in physiognomy, if any subject of your majesty can ever attain such a height of military glory, as that to which this combination of sublime perfections must raise him." William acknowledged the propriety

* Life of James, vol. ii. p. 449.

of the observation by replying, with a smile, "Cousin, you have done your part in answering my question; and I believe the earl of Marlborough will do his to verify your prediction."*

At the conclusion of the campaign Marlborough returned to England, and landed on the 19th of October. He was then apparently high in the confidence and esteem of the sovereign, for he was one of the generals appointed to serve the ensuing year. Indeed the manifest preference which he enjoyed, excited the envy of many among the ministers. We find the marquis of Caermarthen in particular designating him, even to the queen, as the "general of favour," and interfering so invidiously in military business as to draw from Marlborough an indignant appeal to the †king. The countenance of the monarch, however, supported him amidst these petty vexations; and the year closed with the same flattering prospects which had marked its commencement.

* Lives of Marlborough and Eugene, p. 30. The writer states, that he received the anecdote from pensionary Heinsius, who was present at the conversation.

† Marlborough to king William, Feb. 17. 1691.—Dalrymple, App. to b. ii. part vii. These bickerings are frequently alluded to in queen Mary's Letters to king William, App. to b. v.

CHAPTER 5.

1692.

Contentions between the king and queen and the princess Anne. —Marlborough's remonstrances against the king's partiality towards his dutch adherents.—Dismissed from all his employments.—Cabal against him by the earl of Portland and the Villiers family.—Refusal of the princess to dismiss the countess.—Breach between the two courts.—The princess removes to Berkley House.—Marlborough arrested on a charge of high treason.—Circumstances of his arrest.—Committed to the Tower.—Causes of his dismission and detention.—His intercourse with the exiled family.—Admitted to bail.—Struck from the list of privy-counsellors. —Discussions on the subject in parliament.—Discharged from bail.

NOTWITHSTANDING this apparent favour, Marlborough soon felt the natural effects of his delicate connection with the actual possessor, and the presumptive heiress to the crown. We have already traced the commencement of the contentions between the king and the princess Anne, which successive incidents continued to increase. Among other causes of dissatisfaction, she was offended at the rejection of an offer made by the prince her husband, to serve on board of the fleet, and still more by the mode in which it was * conveyed.

* Conduct, p. 58.

Such bickerings could not have failed to recoil on Marlborough and his countess, even had he not rendered himself particularly obnoxious by his indiscreet remonstrances against the king's bounty to his foreign adherents; and by his contemptuous treatment of the earl of Portland, whom he publicly stigmatised as a wooden fellow. * The odium which he thus incurred, was manifested by the refusal of the king to confer on him the order of the garter, though it was earnestly solicited both by the prince and princess of Denmark. †

Such mutual irritation could not long continue without producing an open rupture. Accordingly, on the evening of January 9. 1692, an indecorous altercation took place between the two royal sisters; and the queen did not hesitate to threaten the princess with a reduction of her revenue to one-half of the actual amount. ‡ Whether Marlborough and his lady were implicated in this uncourtly scene is uncertain; but he felt the first public effect of the royal displeasure. On the ensuing morning, after fulfilling his usual duties, as lord of the bed-chamber, he received an order from the king, through lord Nottingham, secretary of state, announcing his dismission from all his

* In one of lord Godolphin's letters to Marlborough, he designates Portland as " him whom you used to call ' un homme de bois.' " The duchess also, in one of her narratives, says, her husband used to call the earl of Portland " a wooden fellow."

† Dalrymple.

‡ Letter from the princess Anne to lady Marlborough, printed in the Conduct, p. 83. and 84. and several others unpublished.

offices, both civil and military, and prohibiting his appearance at court.

This affront towards a faithful servant rankled in the mind of the princess; and a gloomy reserve prevailed in the royal family, which portended a new commotion. At this moment, also, the enemies whom Marlborough had provoked by his remonstrances and sarcasms, omitted no effort to widen the breach. A powerful cabal was formed by the earl of Portland and the family of * Villiers, whose intrigues were rendered more dangerous by their intimate access to the king. To this cabal belonged lady Fitzharding, a sister of the countess of Portland, who availed herself of her situation in the houshold of the princess, and the confidence of lady Marlborough, to act as a spy on the conduct of the princess and her favourite; and to report, in aggravated terms, the indecorous and insulting language, which they habitually used in speaking of the king. †

* Edward Villiers, afterwards successively created baron Villiers, and earl of Jersey, was in high favour with king William, to whom his sister Elizabeth was mistress, and at the same time his lady enjoyed the confidence of queen Mary. Viscountess Fitzharding was his third sister; and the fourth was married to the earl of Portland. During the whole reign of William this family exercised prodigious influence; a circumstance which was the more extraordinary, because he himself was considered as a Jacobite, and his wife was a bigotted Catholic.

† In the indorsement of a letter from lady Fitzharding, the duchess admits the indiscretion of her language, and says, it was reported to the king and queen. In similar indorsements to letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, afterwards lady Orkney, she states, that this lady overheard much of this imprudent language, and that she was in the cabal against the earl of Marlborough. In fact, when we find even in

As early as January 29, an anonymous letter was conveyed to the princess, indicating this cabal, and announcing that the disgrace of Marlborough would not terminate with his dismission; but that, on the prorogation of parliament, he would be imprisoned. This correspondent also stated, that the tears which she had been seen to shed, since the disgrace of Marlborough, had provoked the king and queen, and that the meeting which he held with Godolphin and Russel on the evening of his dismission, had excited great jealousy at court. It concluded with apprising the princess, that she would be compelled to dismiss lady Marlborough. *

This informant was not widely mistaken. The countess, who had absented herself from court since the disgrace of her lord, was at length persuaded by her friends to attend the princess at the levée of the queen, on the 4th of February. Such an imprudent step, which was far from being prompted by motives of respect, was considered as a premeditated insult. On the ensuing morning a harsh letter was conveyed from the queen, commanding the princess to dismiss lady Marlborough without delay. Instead, however, of complying,

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the letters of the princess, such epithets applied to William, as ‘ the monster,’ ‘ Caliban,’ and ‘ the dutch abortion,’ we cannot suppose that the style of her favourite was more decorous, or their ordinary conversation more guarded. These offensive terms the duchess has carefully expunged from all the letters of the princess, which she has printed in her Conduct, and has even erased them in the originals.

* Anonymous letter to the princess of Denmark, Jan. 29th, 1692, M. P.

she still farther provoked the queen by a justification of her favourite, and an order was transmitted by the lord chamberlain, enjoining the countess to remove from the palace of Whitehall. The order was the prelude to an utter breach. Anne, disdaining to remain in a place from whence her friend and confidante was excluded, quitted her own apartments, and, after a temporary stay at Sion Hill, the seat of the duke of Somerset, established her residence at Berkley House.

Common resentment and common mortification gave new strength to the romantic affection which subsisted between the princess and her favourite. To an offer made by the countess, of withdrawing from her service, Anne replied with the most tender expostulations, asseverating that she was not the cause of the rupture which had occurred. In one of her notes she observes, " I really long to know how my dear Mrs. Freeman got home; and now I have this opportunity of writing, she must give me leave to tell her, if she should ever be so cruel to leave her faithful Mrs. Morley, she will rob her of the joy of her life; for if that day should come, I should never enjoy another happy minute; and I swear to you I would shut myself up, and never see a creature."*

Before the surprise occasioned by the preceding incidents had subsided, Marlborough was suddenly arrested, on the 5th of May, on a charge of high treason. Warrants were likewise issued against the earls of Huntingdon and Scarsdale, and Dr.

* Conduct, p. 82.

Spratt, bishop of Rochester. Several other persons were also taken into custody, particularly lord Middleton, the lords Griffin and Dunmore, sir John Fenwick, and colonels Slingsby and Sackville, all of whom were known partisans of the Stuart family.

The moment of these arrests was a crisis of peculiar danger and alarm; for a french fleet was on the point of sailing, to convey the dethroned monarch, with a large body of troops, to the british shores. The avowed jacobites were consequently seized by way of precaution, and not on any specific charge. With regard to the earls of Marlborough and Scarsdale, and the bishop of Rochester, the case was different, though the time and mode of their detention seemed to involve them in the designs which popular opinion ascribed to the rest. In fact, they were arrested in consequence of an atrocious scheme formed by one Robert Young, then imprisoned in Newgate for the non-payment of a fine. This wretch, who was expert in counterfeiting hands, drew up an association in favour of James the second, to which he annexed the signatures of the earls of Marlborough and Scarsdale, the bishop of Rochester, lord Cornbury, and sir Basil Firebrass. To give additional colour to his scheme, he also forged several letters from Marlborough. By the agency of Stephen Blackhead, a confederate equally infamous, he found means to secrete the fictitious association in the palace belonging to the bishop of Rochester, at Bromley, in Kent. On the information of Young the palace was searched, and the paper being found, measures

were immediately adopted to secure the supposed delinquents.

As peers could not be arrested except on an affidavit, Young made the customary deposition for drawing up the several warrants. When that against Marlborough was presented to the cabinet council, for approbation, three of the members, the earls of Devonshire and Bradford, and lord Montagu, appear to have been struck by the infamous character of the accuser; and, instead of affixing their signatures, contemptuously handed it to those sitting next.* It was however sanctioned by the majority, and was carried into execution.

In the language of conscious innocence, Marlborough made an immediate appeal to those members of the administration in whose integrity he confided. To the earl of Devonshire, lord high steward, he wrote:

"I am so confident of my innocence, and so convinced, if there be any such letter, that it must appear to be forged, and made use of only to keep me in prison, that I cannot doubt but your lordship will be so kind as to let me find your protection against such a proceeding, which will be a reproach to the government, as well as an injury to yours," &c.

He made a similar appeal to the marquis of Caermarthen, president of the council, whose judgment he was convinced would not be biassed by the remembrance of their former contentions.

* Conduct, p. 62. In corroboration of this anecdote, preserved by the duchess, it may be proper to observe that lord Bradford visited Marlborough in the Tower.

" Having been informed that it is now publicly discoursed in Westminster-hall to-day, that a letter under my hand was to be produced to the grand jury, to induce them to find a bill against me, I beg leave to assure your lordship, upon my honour and credit, that, if any such letter be pretended, it must and will, upon examination, appear so plainly to have been forged, that as it can be of no credit or advantage to the government, so I doubt not but your lordship's justice will be ready to protect me from so injurious a proceeding, who am," &c.*

The arrest of Marlborough, though not unforeseen, struck a panic into the court of Berkley House. We find a letter of condolence, written by the princess to her favourite, as soon as the news had transpired:

" I hear lord Marlborough is sent to the Tower; and though I am certain they have nothing against him, and expected by your letter it would be so, yet I was struck when I was told it; for methinks it is a dismal thing to have one's friends sent to that place. I have a thousand melancholy thoughts, and cannot help fearing they should hinder you from coming to me; though how they can do that, without making you a prisoner, I cannot imagine.

" I am just told by pretty good hands, that as soon as the wind turns westerly, there will be a guard set upon the prince and me. If you hear there is any such thing designed, and that 'tis easy to you, pray let me see you before the wind changes; for afterwards one does not know whether they will

* From copies in the hand-writing of the duchess. — Marlborough Papers.

let one have opportunities of speaking to one another. But let them do what they please, nothing shall ever vex me, so I can have the satisfaction of seeing dear Mrs. Freeman; and I swear I would live on bread and water, between four walls, with her, without repining; for as long as you continue kind, nothing can ever be a real mortification to your faithful Mrs. Morley, who wishes she may never enjoy a moment's happiness, in this world or the next, if ever she proves false to you."*

Whether the hint which the princess conveys, of a design to place her and her consort under restraint, was an effect of mere rumour; or whether William was unwilling to hazard so decisive a measure, we cannot ascertain. But the princess suffered no other mortification than the imprisonment of her zealous adherent, and the loss of the honours attached to her high station.

In endeavouring to trace the causes of this mysterious transaction, we must distinguish between the disgrace and arrest, and the subsequent detention of Marlborough.

Some who were well acquainted with his early history, especially the duchess, ascribe his disgrace and imprisonment to the zeal he displayed in promoting the grant of a permanent revenue to the princess of Denmark.† Others have imputed these mortifications to the jealousy which his popularity and military talents raised in the mind of William; to an accusation that he attempted to

* Marlborough Papers, Copy.

† Conduct.

sow divisions in the army*; and to his disclosure of a design formed for the surprise of Dunkirk. Finally, the cause has been sought in the bickerings between the two courts, and the imprudent remonstrances which Marlborough presumed to make against the partiality of the king towards his dutch adherents, and his reserve towards the english.

Of all these different conjectures, the last alone is sufficient to account for the dismission of Marlborough: for the magnanimous character of William exempts him from the slightest imputation of personal jealousy; the charge of endeavouring to sow divisions in the army was a mere vague rumour of the day; the design against Dunkirk did not take place till the ensuing August; and the earl was confidentially employed by the king, more than two years after the discussion relative to the revenue of the princess.

For Marlborough's subsequent detention, we must seek another cause, namely, his clandestine intercourse with the exiled family. We have already adverted to the commencement of that intercourse: and whether the motive which induced him to listen to the overtures of the Stuart agents, arose from disgust with William, or the fear of a counter-revolution, we cannot doubt that it must

* Lord Basil Hamilton, in a letter to the duke of Hamilton, Jan. 29. 1692, announcing the dismission of Marlborough, observes, "Every body makes their guesses what are his crimes. Some say he was endeavouring to breed divisions in the army, *and to make himself the more necessary; besides his endeavouring to make an ill correspondence between the princess and the court.*" Dalrymple, vol. iii. p. 256.

have operated with double force, during the course of the preceding winter, when he was personally implicated in the dispute between the princess and the king; and when a powerful expedition was preparing in the french ports, to restore the exiled monarch. So general was the panic felt on this occasion, that even the princess of Denmark herself made overtures to her father, towards the close of 1691.* Such a correspondence could not have entirely escaped the vigilance of William; and he might naturally have ascribed the overture of the princess to the advice of Marlborough and his countess, who possessed her full confidence. But whatever were his suspicions, the evidence on which they were founded was too slender to justify severer measures; for otherwise the powerful cabal, whom Marlborough had so grievously offended, would scarcely have failed to push their vengeance farther than mere detention.

* The letter from the princess Anne to her dethroned father, which is printed in Clarke's Life, vol. ii. p. 477. was dated December 1. 1691; but the king observes, that he did not receive it till after the battle of La Hogue, though he seems to hint that previous overtures from her were among the reasons which prompted him to undertake the expedition.

On the conduct of Marlborough he again observes:

"The correspondence with my lord Churchill was still kept up, for though so much former treachery, and so little other proofs of a change than words and protestations, made his intentions liable to suspicion; yet he put so plausible a face upon his reasons and actions, that if they were not accompanied with truth and sincerity, they had at least a specious appearance of fair and honest dealing; and had this reason above all others to be credited, that not only he but his [blank in original] was out of favour with the prince of Orange, and reaped no other benefit for their past infidelities, than the infamy of having committed them; and the most interested men's repentance may be credited, when they can reasonably hope to mend their fortune by repairing their fault, and better their condition by returning to their duty." Vol. ii. p. 476.

The atrocious forgery of Young, was detected the instant he was confronted with the bishop of Rochester. Accordingly the prelate, and all those implicated in the same charge, except Marlborough, were released without delay. Even the arrested Jacobites were liberated, when the defeat of the french fleet off La Hogue had dissipated the alarm of invasion. But although the guilt of Young and his associate was legally * substantiated, and although they suffered a severe punishment for their offence, Marlborough was detained in custody till the 15th of June, the last day of the term. He was then admitted to bail in the court of King's-bench, on the surety of the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquess of Halifax, the earl of Carbury, and Mr. Boyle.

Still, however, some suspicion was entertained of his fidelity, or his enemies did not deem him sufficiently mortified; for on the 23d of June his own name, and those of his two sureties, the marquess of Halifax and the earl of Shrewsbury, were erased from the list of privy counsellors. Such severe measures created much dissatisfaction. Admiral Russel in particular, who had acquired additional consideration from his recent victory off La Hogue, strongly remonstrated with the king on

* The duchess asserts that when Young was about to suffer death, for another crime, he confessed with great contrition, that he had obtained the earl of Marlborough's seal and signature by writing to him under the name of a country gentleman, requesting the character of a domestic who had lived in his service. Marlborough acknowledged, when the forged papers were shewn him, that the hand-writing was so exactly imitated as to have deceived even himself, had he not been conscious that he had never signed such an association.

the harshness shewn towards a nobleman who had contributed to place the crown on his head.*

At the commencement of Michaelmas term, Marlborough, with his sureties, applied to be discharged from their recognisance. Their demand being rejected, they, on the meeting of parliament, appealed to the house of peers, as well against his detention without any specific charge, as against the subsequent refusal to release his bail. The appeal was warmly supported by Shrewsbury, who represented Marlborough as ungratefully and unjustly treated; and the question gave rise to several vehement debates. At length the king terminated the discussion by discharging the recognisance, and the house of peers vindicated their privileges, by a declaration against such arrests and detention of their members in future. The ministers were exonerated by a bill of indemnity.†

* Burnet—Lediard.

† Journals and Chandler's Debates for 1692. MS. notes and letters in the Marlborough Papers—Conduct of the duchess of Marlborough, p. 60.—Other side of the Question, p. 82.—Lives of Marlborough and Eugene, p. 51.—Lediard, vol. i. p. 104.—Tindal, vol. xiii. p. 511.—Ralph, vol. ii. p. 529.—Burnet, vol. iv. p. 133. 148. 152.—Dalrymple, vol. iii. p. 234.

CHAPTER 6.

1692—1697.

Marlborough continues in disgrace. — Offer of his services to king William declined. — Death of queen Mary, and reconciliation of the king with the princess of Denmark. — Correspondence of Marlborough with the exiled family. — Discloses the intended enterprise against Brest. — Affair of Sir John Fenwick. — His charges against Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and Russel. — Discussion on the subject in Parliament. — Attainder and execution of Fenwick. — Marlborough made governor to the duke of Gloucester. — Restored to his military rank, and employments. — Supports the preceptor, bishop Burnet, against the attacks of the tories. — Death of the duke of Gloucester.

After his liberation, the earl of Marlborough was estranged from the court. His income being reduced by the loss of his lucrative employments, he alternately resided at his mansion of Sandridge, and in the apartments which his lady occupied at Berkley House. The princess, indeed, considered him as the victim of her cause, and proposed to create in her household a new place in his favour, with a salary of £1000 a-year; but the generous offer was respectfully declined.*

* Conduct, p. 285.

Soon after this period, attempts were made to sooth the resentment of the king. The duke of Shrewsbury, who had recently been appointed secretary of state, and placed at the head of a new administration, availed himself of the complaints, arising from the ill success of the war on the continent, to recommend Marlborough to notice. In a letter to the king, dated May 22. 1694, he observes, "Writing on this subject, it is impossible to forget what is here become a very general discourse, the popularity and conveniency of receiving lord Marlborough into your favour. He has been with me, since this news, to offer his service, with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable. What I can say by way of persuasion, upon this subject, will signify but little, since I very well remember, when your majesty discoursed with me upon it, in the spring, you were sufficiently convinced of his usefulness. But some points remained of a delicate nature, too tender for me to pretend to advise upon, and of which your majesty is the only judge. If these could be accommodated to your majesty's satisfaction, I cannot but think he is capable of being very serviceable. It is so unquestionably his interest to be faithful, that that single argument makes me not doubt it."*

The reply of William was cold, but decisive, though it throws no light on the causes of his displeasure.

"July 16. 1694. In regard to what you wrote in your last concerning lord Marlborough, I can

* Shrewsbury Papers.

say no more, than that I do not think it for the good of my service, to intrust the command of my troops to him."*

Towards the close of the year, a melancholy event occurred, which produced a change in the situation of the royal family. This was, the death of queen Mary, which happened on the 28th of December, 1694.

Since the unfortunate rupture, which followed the disgrace of Marlborough, various attempts had been made to mediate a reconciliation between the queen and princess, but without effect; because the offended dignity of Mary vanquished her affection as a sister, and in her last moments her disorder was too malignant, and her dissolution too sudden, for her to receive the overtures made by the princess.

The death of the queen placed William in a new and critical situation. Many had begun to suggest doubts of his right to the crown; and some even argued, that as the parliament had been summoned in the joint names of the king and queen, it was dissolved by the death of either. Had the princess abetted these objections, she might doubtless have created much confusion in the state, and formed a party dangerous to the authority of the king. But instead of testifying the slightest wish to question his right, she made an affectionate appeal to his feelings, in a letter of condolence, expressing extreme concern at having incurred the displeasure of the deceased queen,

* King William to the duke of Shrewsbury. — Shrewsbury Papers.

and declaring her readiness to wait on him and give proofs of respect for his person, and zeal for his interest.*

At the moment when this spontaneous overture had produced its effect, lord Somers, who had long regretted the feuds in the royal family, repaired to the palace of Kensington. He found the king sitting at the end of his closet, in an agony of grief, more acute than seemed consonant to his phlegmatic temper. Absorbed in reflection, William took no notice of the intrusion, till Somers himself broke silence, by proposing to terminate the unhappy difference with the princess. The king replied, "My lord, do what you will; I can think of no business!" To a repetition of the proposal, the same answer was returned. By the agency of Somers an interview was accordingly arranged, in which the king received the princess with cordiality, and informed her that the palace of St. James's should be appropriated for her future residence.†

This reconciliation was, however, rather apparent than real. As the resentment of both parties had sunk too deep to be easily eradicated, it was followed by no farther proof of returning affection or confidence.

It is gratifying to observe that the efforts of Marlborough were strenuously exerted to restore peace in the royal family. The duke of Shrewsbury, in a letter to admiral Russel, dated June 29. 1695, does ample justice to his disinterested zeal

* This letter is printed in the Conduct, p. 108.

† Mrs. Burnet to the duchess of Marlborough, in 1704.

on this occasion. "Since the queen's death, and the reconciliation between the king and princess, her court is as much courted as it was before deserted. She has omitted no opportunity to shew her zeal for his majesty and his government; and our friend*, who has no small credit with her, seems very resolved to contribute to the continuance of this union, as the only thing that can support either or both. I do not see him likely, at present, to get much by it, not having yet kissed the king's hand; but his reversion is very fair and great."†

Notwithstanding this laudable interposition, Marlborough remained for some time in the same state of exclusion; and a considerable interval elapsed before he was even admitted into the royal presence. He, however, regularly attended in the house of peers; and in the addresses and protests we observe his name frequently associated with those of his friend, the earl of Rochester, and other zealous tories.

During the interval between the liberation of Marlborough, and the death of queen Mary, we find him, in conjunction with Godolphin, and many others, continuing a clandestine intercourse with the exiled family. On the 2d of May, 1694, only a few days before he offered his services to king William, he communicated to James, through colonel Sackville, intelligence of an expedition, then fitted out, for the purpose of destroying the fleet in Brest harbour. Godolphin, though a minister,

* Lord Marlborough. † Shrewsbury Papers.

is even said to have made the same disclosure on the preceding day. We are far from attempting to palliate this act of infidelity; yet from the time and circumstances of the communication, we are inclined to regard it in no other light than as one of the various expedients adopted by Marlborough and others, to regain the good will of their former sovereign, that their demerits might be overlooked in the event of a restoration.

This inference may fairly be drawn from all the circumstances attending the expedition. The communication is said to have been made by Godolphin on the first of May; and on the second by Marlborough, through colonel Sackville. This was only the day before the english fleet put to sea. Allowing for the time requisite to convey the information to St. Germains, it evidently could not have been the cause that the Brest fleet escaped, and joined that of Toulon; for it had sailed even before admiral Russel reached Portsmouth to assume the command. As little could it have been the cause of the ultimate failure; for the magnitude and nature of the preparations must have indicated to the enemy the object of attack, long before such information could reach the french court.* In fact some letters which passed between admiral Russel and Shrewsbury †, prove that they considered the expedition as hopeless so early as

* This letter from Marlborough appears in Clarke's Life of James, vol. ii. p. 522. in the original. Macpherson has given a re-translation from the french translation; and has added some remarks relative to admiral Russel, which do not appear in the abstract preserved by the biographer of James—Macpherson's Papers, vol. i. p. 527.

† Shrewsbury Papers.

the beginning of May. They concur in ascribing the failure to the delays which arose, and the inadequacy of the land force employed, and they admit that these delays gave the enemy ample time to mature all his measures of defence.

But whatever were the real motives of Marlborough, in this and similar communications to the exiled monarch, his intercourse with the Stuart agents could not be concealed; and a proof of the danger to which he exposed himself, occurred in the case of sir John Fenwick.

Fenwick was one of the most notorious jacobites, and deeply implicated in the plot to assassinate king William. Being arrested in his attempt to escape, his guilt was proved by an intercepted letter, which he had addressed to his wife. After strongly denying the charges against him, in his examination before the lords justices, he was confounded by the production of this letter, and offered to purchase his pardon by an ample disclosure, provided he was excused from appearing as an evidence. His request being denied, he threw himself on the royal mercy.

To prove his contrition, he delivered to the duke of Devonshire, lord high steward, who, by the king's order, visited him in the Tower, a written confession, containing vague accounts of the plots and projects of the jacobites, and obscure allusions to certain persons, who were stated to be intrusted with the management of king James's affairs in England. Being required to specify these persons, he delivered other papers, in which he named the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Marlborough and

Bath, lord Godolphin, admiral Russel, and others of less note. He also indicated the services which they were respectively to perform; stating in particular, that king James deemed himself secure of the army by means of lord Marlborough. He added, that Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Russel, had accepted pardons from their former sovereign.

As these accusations were too ill defined, and ill supported, to obtain credit, Fenwick was ordered for trial. But from the absence of the duke of Devonshire, in the country, and the expectation of the king's return from the continent, the prosecution was deferred. The delay afforded his friends an opportunity of tampering with Goodman, a principal witness against him, who was bribed to escape beyond sea. Captain Porter, the second witness, affected to listen to similar proposals; but betrayed the attempt to government, and contrived that his conversation with lady Mary Fenwick should be overheard, and the fact substantiated. Still, however, as Porter alone remained, Fenwick hoped to escape, because the law of treason requires the crime to be proved by two competent witnesses.

The accusations against persons so high in rank and confidence, produced a great sensation. Godolphin, who was naturally timid, caught the alarm, and withdrew from office*; and Shrewsbury was

* It is singular that the resignation, or rather dismission, of lord Godolphin, from the office of first commissioner of the treasury, in October 1696, is scarcely noticed by historians. Ralph mentions him as not being one of the lords justices in 1697, without appearing to be aware of his resignation. The fact is, that he was alarmed at Fenwick's ac-

unable to appear in his own vindication, being detained in the country by the consequences of a fall from his horse. The resignation of one of these noblemen, and the absence of the other, gave rise to such injurious surmises, that it was deemed proper to bring the matter before the cognisance of parliament.

Accordingly, on the 6th of November, soon after the opening of the session, admiral Russel, with the king's consent, submitted the papers and proceedings relative to sir John Fenwick to the house of commons. The prisoner was then brought to the bar, and publicly questioned, on the charges which he had advanced against each individual. Colonel Godfrey, the brother-in-law of Marlborough, in particular, required him to declare, whether since the beginning of the war the earl had held with him any communication whatever; what was the service on the performance of which king James promised a pardon; and lastly, whether he could prove, by any testimony beside his own, that the accused peer had sent Lloyd, one of the principal agents, to France. To these and other queries relating to the persons implicated, Fenwick declined replying, under the plea that his answers might criminate himself. In consequence of this

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cusation; and the distinction made by the king between Shrewsbury, and Russel, and the tories. As he was obnoxious to Sunderland, that artful statesman availed himself of these circumstances, and persuaded him to offer his resignation, which was accepted by the king. Letters from Somers and Wharton to the duke of Shrewsbury.—Shrewsbury Papers.

evasion, he was ordered to withdraw. Russel then vindicated himself, in an animated speech; and was followed by several other members who were interested to justify their own conduct or that of their friends. The question was finally put to the vote, and the charges declared false and scandalous, without a division.

As the want of witnesses prevented a regular process in the ordinary courts of justice, a bill of attainder against Fenwick, for his design on the life of the king, was immediately brought into the house of commons. Yet although little doubt was entertained of his guilt, such a measure was regarded as a dangerous precedent. After several warm discussions, in which it was evidently made a party question, it passed on the 25th of November, by a majority of only twenty-three voices.

On the first of December the bill was transmitted to the lords. After the papers of accusation, examined by the commons, had been read, Marlborough rose and addressed the house: "I do not wonder," he observed, "to find a man in danger willing to throw his guilt upon others. I feel great satisfaction in being named in such good company; but I assure your lordships, on my word and honour, that since the government of the present king, I have never held any conversation with sir John Fenwick, on any account whatsoever." Lords Godolphin and Bath vindicated themselves in a similar manner. The question was then taken into consideration; and, in a house unusually full, the peers accused were declared to have given a

satisfactory justification, and the charges of Fenwick were stigmatised as calumnious. *

In the house of peers the bill of attainder was less treated as a party question, than in the house of commons; but it encountered still stronger opposition on the same grounds. Not only the adherents of the exiled family, and the high tories, but even some of the warmest friends of government argued against it, particularly the duke of Devonshire, lord high steward, lord Pembroke, privy seal, the duke of Leeds, lord president, and even Sunderland, confidential adviser of the † king. After a tedious investigation, and several debates of peculiar vehemence, it passed by a majority of only seven. A protest was entered against it, by no fewer than forty-one peers, among whom was the earl of Bath, though himself one of the accused.

In the course of the discussion, a new disclosure awakened equal disgust, astonishment, and horror. The wife of sir John Fenwick delivered to the house a paper of instructions, which had been sent to her husband, through the duchess of Norfolk, by lord Monmouth, afterwards earl of Peterborough, containing explicit directions to the crimi-

* It is remarkable that no trace of Marlborough's speech appears in any printed account. It is given from a letter of lord Wharton to the duke of Shrewsbury, dated December 1. 1696. — Shrewsbury Papers.

† There is reason to believe that the king himself was against the bill of attainder. The prince of Denmark voted for it; but in a letter from lord Somers to the duke of Shrewsbury, Dec. 24. 1696, it is said that he came late, and was brought with difficulty, *and that the difficulty did not proceed from himself.*

nal how to conduct his defence, so as to implicate those against whom he had advanced his charges. Godolphin was to be accused of corresponding with the exiled queen, and lords Portland and Romney were to be questioned relative to intercepted letters from him, which had been shewn to the king. In regard to the duke of Shrewsbury, an appeal was to be made to the king himself, for the secret motives of his resignation in 1692, and his subsequent transactions. Marlborough was to be questioned, on the causes of his dismission, and the events which ensued. Admiral Russel was to be required to declare, whether he had not seen David Lloyd, an agent of James, both in London and at Cadiz, and what had passed between them. Other hints were suggested, which it is needless to recapitulate. It appeared, also, that, on the refusal of Fenwick to frame his defence according to these directions, Monmouth did not scruple to speak and vote for the bill of attainder. This conduct induced the friends of Fenwick to make the disclosure.*

Monmouth was immediately dismissed from all his places, and sent to the Tower. He was, however, screened from farther humiliation, by the interest of the king, through the agency of bishop Burnet. It is also surmised, that he was secretly remunerated by the government for the loss he incurred in consequence of his dismission. Whether this indulgence was owing to the service he had rendered at the Revolution, or to the dread which

* Secretary Vernon to the duke of Shrewsbury, Dec. 24. 1696.

was entertained of his enterprising spirit, must be left among those mysterious questions, which cannot be solved. *

Fenwick was executed, in virtue of the bill of attainder. On the scaffold he presented a paper, avowing the principles for which he suffered, repeating all his former accusations, and declaring that he drew the information he had given to the duke of Devonshire, from letters and messages which had been transmitted to France. † He stated also, that, on repeating this information, the duke had assured him the king was acquainted with the facts long before. ‡

* From the correspondence of Vernon with Shrewsbury, Nov. 30. 1696, it appears that some intimation was given of these insidious instructions early in November. The fact was mentioned to Marlborough, who instantly designated Monmouth as the author, adding, they could be framed only by "the worst of men." Yet it is remarkable that this eccentric peer afterwards conciliated the confidence of Marlborough and his lady; and was regarded by both with an unusual degree of favour; and finally that he again betrayed their confidence, and became the most bitter and persevering enemy of Marlborough.

† Confession of Sir John Fenwick, published in Tindal, &c.

For this account we have consulted the manuscript correspondence of lords Somers and Wharton, and secretary Vernon with the duke of Shrewsbury, in October, November, and December, 1696. The Journals of both Houses of Parliament — Chandler's Debates — Burnet — Ralph — Tindal — and Oldmixon, who appears to have possessed the most minute and accurate information on this subject. Also the History of Europe, vol. v.

‡ The biographer of James the Second corroborates the remark of the duke of Devonshire, that king William was acquainted with the correspondence carried on with the Stuart agents.

"The prince of Orange looking never the worse upon my *lord Godolphin* [1] and *admiral Russel*, was an argument he had been no stranger to their practices, but it was a check, however, upon others, who perhaps meant better; of which number, whether my *lord Churchill*

[1] The words in Italics inserted afterwards.

On reviewing the circumstances of this mysterious transaction, we find nothing more specific charged on Marlborough, than was charged on Shrewsbury and Russel; and that even these charges were not avowed by their accuser, when he was solemnly required to substantiate and confirm his assertions. We find, also, on comparing Fenwick's statements with the Stuart Papers, published by Macpherson, and the Life of James the Second, edited by Clarke, that Marlborough was fully justified in his declaration, that he had held no communication whatever with Fenwick after the commencement of the war. It is, however, remarkable, that not only the accusations of Fenwick, but also the suggestions of lord Monmouth, were grounded on the information which was conveyed to the court of St. Germains, by the Stuart agents and spies. We may therefore conclude, that the substance was furnished by the loquacity of these agents; that in the moment of alarm these hints were thrown out by the criminal, with a view to avert or suspend his fate, by operating on the fears of those who had reason to dread farther disclosures; and that when put to the test, he was either unable to substantiate them, for want of evidence, or was unwilling to injure the cause for which he suffered, by revealing the sources of his information.

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was to be counted or no, is still a mystery, and the veil is like to remain upon it." Vol. i. p. 558.

This is another proof of Macpherson's infidelity, as he has suppressed this clause in his extracts relative to the same transaction, p. 257.

We have no document to prove the feelings of Marlborough during this investigation, except a single letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, in which he appears to regard it as rather affecting that nobleman than himself.

"*Wednesday night.*—Although I have not troubled your grace with my letters, I have not been wanting in inquiring constantly how you did. I did, about a fortnight ago, write a letter, to acquaint you with what I had observed of some people, in hopes Mr. Arden would have called upon me, as he promised; but I did not care to send it by the post, and so it was burnt. We had yesterday sir John Fenwick at the house, and I think it all went as you could wish. I do not send you the particulars, knowing you must have it more exactly from others; but I should be wanting, if I did not let you know that lord Rochester has behaved himself on all this occasion like a friend. In a conversation he had with me, he expressed himself as a real servant of yours; and I think it would not be amiss if you took notice of it to him. If you think me capable of any commands, I shall endeavour to approve myself, what I am with much truth, &c." *

Notwithstanding the strength of the prejudices which the king fostered against Marlborough, he had been frequently heard to express his concern that he could not employ a nobleman who was equally distinguished for political and military talents, and who appeared never to discover a dif-

* Shrewsbury Papers.

ficulty, while other generals seemed to find every thing proposed to them impracticable. * At length the merit of Marlborough, and the necessities of the times, outweighed all objections.

William seems to have discovered that the extensive correspondence which in the preceding period of his reign had been maintained with the exiled family, arose, in most instances, rather from fear, selfishness, or gratitude, than from disaffection; and that in proportion as his throne became more stable, his subjects appeared less hesitating in their allegiance. Hence at different times, he employed many of those whom he knew to have been implicated in such an intercourse, and found no cause to repent of his confidence. It was probably from the same motive that he at length consigned to Marlborough an employment of the highest trust.

As it was now deemed proper to form a separate establishment for the young duke of Gloucester, presumptive heir to the crown, the princess his mother was anxious that the charge of his person should be confided to a nobleman so high in her esteem, and so accomplished, as the earl of Marlborough. Her inclinations were perfectly in unison with the public voice. But the king was at first averse to the appointment, and at one time purposed to fill the offices in the new establishment, without consulting her wishes. With a view of excluding Marlborough, he offered the post of governor to the duke of Shrewsbury, who, from ill

* Duchess of Marlborough's Narrative. Green Book.

health, was then soliciting permission to relinquish the fatiguing office of secretary of state. The duke declining the appointment, William remained in suspense, from dislike of Marlborough, and the difficulty of selecting a person who, with equal merit, was less obnoxious. At length his repugnance was overcome by the representations of lord Sunderland, the suggestions of the new favourite, lord Albemarle, who had recently supplanted Portland, the recommendation of the tories, who were rising in influence, and the dread of being obliged to consign the prince to a nobleman of so froward a temper as lord Rochester, whose cause was espoused by the violent members of his * party. Having taken his resolution, he conferred the office on Marlborough in the most gracious manner; and delivered the young prince into his care, with a compliment of unusual warmth: "Teach him," he said, "to be like yourself, and he will not want accomplishments."

The coadjutor of Marlborough in the office of preceptor was the celebrated Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, whose learning, frankness, and integrity entitled him to the confidence of the king. The governor and preceptor indeed differed widely in political principles, for the bishop was distinguished by his attachment to the whig cause; but this diversity of sentiment created no discordance in the fulfilment of their important duties. Their esteem and respect were mutual, and their public

* Secretary Vernon to the duke of Shrewsbury.

connection became the foundation of a friendship, which lasted through life.

After making so great a sacrifice in the choice of a governor, William became less scrupulous in inferior regulations. Except the nomination of Burnet, as the preceptor, against the wish of the princess, who disliked his political principles, the king seems to have left to her, or rather to Marlborough, the selection of the different attendants, who were placed about the person of his nephew.

The very evening of his appointment, Marlborough was restored to his place in the privy council, and to his military rank and employments. In the course of the two succeeding years he was also named one of the lords justices, who were intrusted with the government during the absence of the king.

The appointment of bishop Burnet gave great offence to the violent tories, and they were little more satisfied with that of Marlborough, in whose post they were anxious to place the earl of Rochester, uncle of the young prince. Accordingly a motion was made in parliament, for an address to remove bishop Burnet, in consequence of the censure passed by the house of commons on his Country and Pastoral Letter, which had been ordered to be burnt by the common executioner. This invidious attack was, however, repelled by a great majority. Marlborough supported his colleague with all his interest, having even prevailed on his brother, George Churchill, who was a zealous tory, to absent himself from the house on the day the

motion was decided. Considering the known bias of the princess, and the diversity of their political sentiments, this conduct reflects honour on his candour and impartiality.

Trained up under a governor so accomplished, and under so learned and skilful a preceptor, the young prince rapidly improved in personal and mental acquirements; and gave the most promising indications of virtues and qualities, which were likely to adorn a crown. But like the Marcellus of Rome, he was shewn to an anxious country, only to be admired and regretted. In the dawn of youth, amidst the vows and prayers of his destined subjects, he was hurried to a premature grave.

Lord and lady Marlborough were at Althorpe when he was first seized; but the progress of the fatal disorder was so rapid, that the afflicted governor arrived at Windsor only in time to receive the dying breath of his royal charge, who expired on the 30th of July, 1700, aged eleven years and five days.

Marlborough announced this melancholy event to the king; and the answer, though brief, does honour to the feelings of the monarch:

"*Loo, 4th Oct.* 1700.

"I do not think it necessary to employ many words in expressing my surprise and grief at the death of the duke of Gloucester. It is so great a loss to me, as well as to all England, that it pierces my heart with affliction."*

* Translation from the original in the Marlborough Papers. — See the fac simile of this letter.

CHAPTER 7.

1698—1700.

Marriages of Marlborough's two daughters, Ladies Henrietta and Anne, to Mr. Godolphin and lord Spencer. — Characters of his friends, lords Godolphin and Sunderland. — Correspondence on this subject.

At this period the family of Marlborough consisted of one son, John Marquess of Blandford, and four daughters, Henrietta, Anne, Elizabeth, and Mary. The two eldest daughters, Henrietta and Anne, being now marriageable, their beauty and accomplishments attracted many admirers of rank and fortune. But in the choice of an alliance, the parents did not lay the slightest restraint on the inclinations of their children; and preferred to every other advantage, the ties of friendship, and the characters of the individuals to whom they confided their beloved pledges.

From an early period of the reign of Charles the Second, an intimate connection had subsisted between Marlborough and Godolphin, which took its rise from their intercourse in public employments, and was afterwards cemented by a similarity in political principles, both being tories and high churchmen, but without the rancour and prejudice which marked the distinctions of party. Their

union was rendered more cordial by the diversity of their talents and pursuits: Marlborough being attached to the profession of arms, and Godolphin to finance, of which he was a perfect master. In the revolution, which was the test of so many public and private connections, Godolphin acted a less prominent part than his noble friend. He did not forsake the interest of James, till the misguided monarch became wanting to himself; and he made a vigorous opposition to the breach of the hereditary succession, occasioned by the elevation of William to the throne. Still, however, he was continued in the commission of the treasury by the new monarch, who entertained a high opinion of his abilities and integrity. He held his situation at the head of the board, from 1690 to 1696; and resigned, as we have already observed, in consequence of the accusations of sir John Fenwick. He remained out of office during the administration in which the whigs were predominant.

No public change produced the slightest diminution in the cordial friendship which had long subsisted between the two statesmen; and amidst the various revolutions of fortune and trying incidents which afterwards befel them, their intercourse was invariably marked with the same esteem and confidence. Their connection was consolidated by the respectful attachment of Godolphin to the countess of Marlborough; of whose character and talents he appears to have entertained the highest admiration, and to whose opinions, and even caprice, he paid unlimited deference.

The intercourse of the parents produced an intimacy between their children; and all parties

witnessed with singular pleasure a growing attachment between Francis the only son of lord Godolphin, and lady Henrietta Churchill. Meeting with the full approbation of the parents, it soon terminated in a matrimonial union, which took place in 1698, when the young lady had attained her eighteenth year. The princess Anne interested herself warmly in the match, and offered in the most delicate terms to endow the bride with a marriage portion of £10,000. The countess of Marlborough would not, however, accept more than £5000, though the establishment of the young couple was ill-adapted to their rank; for Godolphin in the management of the finances had added to the wealth of his country without increasing his own; and the fortune of Marlborough was not yet sufficiently ample to furnish a liberal portion to each of his four daughters. He added, however, £5000 to the generous gift of the princess.

Of all their children, lady Anne, the second daughter, was perhaps the most endeared to them, by personal and mental accomplishments, as well as by uncommon sweetness of disposition, and a maturity of judgment above her years.* For the establishment of this darling child, the anxious parents felt peculiar solicitude; and in the choice of an alliance they were guided by the same sentiments of private friendship which they had consulted in the marriage of her sister.

* The beauty and accomplishments of lady Anne Churchill received great homage from the gallants and wits of the time. Among the number of her eulogists was lord Godolphin, who, as Swift sneeringly observes, "could sometimes scratch out a song in praise of a fair lady with a pencil and card." In the Blenheim papers is the fable of the lion in love, translated from La Fontaine, with an address to lady Anne.

Among the most intimate of Marlborough's early friends was Robert earl of Sunderland, who bore so important, but so mysterious a part in the Revolution. It would be foreign to the present purpose to scrutinise the actions of Sunderland, or attempt to vindicate his political character, from the accusations with which it has been loaded. It is sufficient to state, that he has encountered deeper obloquy than he deserved; and that the charge urged against him of instigating king James to violent measures, in order to accelerate his ruin, is without foundation. In fact, the moderation of

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in the hand-writing of the Treasurer. For the rarity of the production this address is here inserted as a species of trifling not usual in a grave minister of finance.

" YOU that with charms and graces shine
" Above the brightness of the day,
" Born with perfections most divine,
" Were your indifference away;
" This small amusement without fear
" May please your goodness to approve,
" And in a harmless fable hear
" Of a fierce lion tamed by love."

Lady Anne received also a poetical tribute from lord Halifax, the Mæcenas of the day.

" Vandyke had colours, softness, fire, and art
" When the fair Sunderland inflamed his heart;
" Waller had numbers, fancy, wit, and fire,
" And Sacharissa was his fond desire.
" Why then at Althorp seem her charms to faint
" In these sweet numbers, and that glowing paint?
" This happy seat a fairer mistress warms:
" The shining offspring has eclipsed her charms.
" The different beauties in one face we find;
" Soft Amoret with brightest Sacharissa join'd.
" As high as Nature reach'd, their art could soar,
" But she ne'er made a finish'd piece before."

State Poems, vol. iii. p. 396.—Johnson's Poets, vol. xxvi. p. 305.

his principles was one of the qualities which most strongly recommended him to the friendship of Marlborough. They were both of the party which was attached to the interest of the queen, in opposition to Hugh Peters, the king's favourite * jesuit, and they both hoped that means might be devised to restrain the imprudence of James; or in case of his death, that what they deemed a constitutional government, might be established under the regency of the queen.

After the Revolution, the good offices of Marlborough were effectually exerted in favour of Sunderland, then in exile and distress. He not only obtained his restoration to his country, but strongly recommended him to the friendship of the new king. Sunderland on his part was not unmindful of the obligation; and when Marlborough was involved in disgrace, repaid his kindness by soothing the resentment of William, and promoting his appointment as governor to the young duke of Gloucester.

Besides the intimacy which subsisted between the two noblemen, an attachment of the most romantic kind arose between the two countesses. Their letters breathe the same warmth of affection as those which passed between the princess and lady Marlborough; and we find the former tenderly expressing her jealousy at the attentions which lady Sunderland received from her favourite.† Besides

* Reresby's Memoirs, p. 223.

† "I cannot help," observes the princess in one of her letters to her favourite, "envying lady Sunderland to-day, that she should have the satisfaction of seeing you before me; for I am sure she cannot love you

the regard arising from this attachment, the privileges of a god-daughter gave the young lady an additional title to the affection of a friend so intimately connected with her mother.

Lord Spencer, the only son of lord Sunderland, having recently lost his wife, lady Arabella Cavendish, daughter of the duke of Newcastle, his anxious parents within a few months proposed to unite him with lady Anne Churchill, first through the agency of lord Godolphin, and his sister Mrs. Boscawen, and subsequently by a direct application. In one of the letters written during this negociation, lord Sunderland artfully observes: "If I see him so settled, I shall desire nothing more in this world but to die in peace, if it please God. I must add this, that if he can be thus happy, he will be governed in every thing public and private by lord Marlborough. I have particularly talked to him of that, and he is sensible how advantageous it will be to him to be so. I need not, I am sure, desire that all this may be a secret to every body but lady Marlborough."*

The proposal was not however received with equal warmth by the parents of the young lady. Lord Spencer in person was highly favoured by nature, and no less liberally gifted with intellectual endowments, which he had improved by assiduous study. He was remarkable for a sedateness above his years; but in him a bold and impetuous spirit was concealed under a cold and reserved exterior.

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half so well as I do, though I know she has the art of saying a great deal."

* Lord Sunderland to Mrs. Boscawen, Dec. 31.—Marlborough Papers.

Imbued with that ardent love of liberty, which the youthful mind generally draws from the writers of Greece and Rome, and educated amidst the effervescence which produced the revolution, he was a zealous champion of the whig doctrines, in their most enlarged sense. Associating with the remnant of republicans who had survived the commonwealth, he caught their spirit. He was an animated speaker; and in the warmth of debate, disdained to spare the prejudices or failings even of those with whom he was most intimately connected. His political idol was lord Somers, though he wanted both the prudence and temper of so distinguished a leader.

The deportment of the young nobleman in private life, was ill calculated to win the esteem of those, who could not regard with indulgence the defects of his public character. Abhorring the very shadow of adulation, he carried his freedom of speech to a degree of bluntness which was often offensive. At this period the loss of a beloved wife threw a gloom over his mind; and gave the appearance of additional harshness to his manners and temper.

A man of so unaccommodating a disposition was not likely to conciliate the favour of the countess of Marlborough, who was accustomed to adulation, and fond of flattery. As little did his political principles accord with those of her lord, who was averse to party violence, and particularly hostile to those republican notions, which were fashionable among the ardent whigs of the day. We are not therefore surprised to find the parents

of the young lady receiving the proposal of a match with coldness, and starting numerous objections, notwithstanding the friendship which subsisted between the two families. Lord and lady Sunderland, however, persisted in their solicitations, and extenuated the failings of their son with all the partiality of parental affection.

By degrees these instances produced an impression. Lady Marlborough, being less hostile to whig principles than her husband, overlooked the political violence of her future son-in-law; but her maternal feelings suggested another difficulty. Judging from the natural reserve of lord Spencer, and the additional gloom with which he was now depressed, she deemed him averse to a new marriage, and withheld her approbation, from a fear lest her beloved child should be made the sacrifice of a match without affection.

At length the charms and accomplishments of lady Anne dissipated the grief of the young widower; and he felt the passion which her youth, beauty, and merit could not fail to inspire. The impression sunk deep in a reserved but ardent mind; and he testified no less anxiety for the alliance than his parents. The intelligence of this conquest was exultingly communicated by his mother to lady Marlborough, and accompanied with the most pressing intreaties to hasten an union, which she hoped would equally ensure the felicity of both parties.

By the zealous interposition of lady Marlborough, the objections of her husband were gradually removed. But he did not give his consent

without strong forebodings that his intended son-in-law would not long maintain the promised change in his political habits and principles; and his fears were fully realised; for it soon appeared that the father had overrated his son's docility, when he engaged that he should "be guided in every thing public and private by the earl of Marlborough."

At length this negotiation, which had lasted a year and a half, was brought to a happy conclusion; and the ceremony took place at St. Alban's, in January 1699–1700. The princess of Denmark gave the same sum to lady Anne as she had already bestowed on her sister, and the father equalised their portions, by adding another £5000. *

* Correspondence between the families of Marlborough and Sunderland, M. P. — Conduct of the duchess of Marlborough.

CHAPTER 8.

1698—1701.

Debates on the army and navy.—On the payment of a debt due to prince George of Denmark.—Resumption of the Irish Grants.—Dismission of the whigs, and formation of a tory ministry.—Meeting of the new parliament.—Ascendancy of the tories.—Choice of Harley as speaker.—His character and principles.—Treaties for the partition of the spanish monarchy.—Death of Charles the second king of Spain, and transfer of the crown to Philip duke of Anjou.—Entail of the british crown on the House of Hanover.—Appeal of the king to parliament, against the usurpation of the spanish monarchy by France.—Is compelled to acknowledge Philip.—Impeachment of the whig ministers, for concluding the treaty of partition.—Clamours of the nation against the parliament.—Liberal vote of supply.—Prorogation.—Marlborough appointed commander in chief in the Netherlands, and plenipotentiary.—Dissatisfaction of the king with the tories.—Marlborough attends him abroad.

After his restoration to favour, Marlborough had a difficult part to act. A series of parliamentary questions arose, in the highest degree delicate, which left him no alternative but to desert his party, or offend the king.

These questions principally related to the reduction of the army and navy, after the peace of Ryswic; the dismission of the dutch guards; the

liquidation of a debt, contracted with the prince of Denmark, and the resumption of the forfeited lands in Ireland, which William had profusely distributed among his favourites.

With regard to the celebrated discussion relative to the reduction of the army and navy, we cannot ascertain in what degree Marlborough abetted the views of his party. Indeed there is reason to infer, that as he considered the peace of Ryswic in the light of a mere temporary accommodation, he must have approved the wish of the king to maintain the country in a respectable state of defence, at a time when the french monarch was augmenting, instead of reducing, both his military and naval establishment.

We are convinced also that he disapproved the personal insult offered to William, by the compulsory dismission of his dutch guards: for he was one of the few confidential persons to whom the king, in the anguish of his heart, imparted the design of renouncing a throne, which had exposed him to accumulated mortifications; and of withdrawing from a country, where his patriotic designs were thwarted by party violence. *

The question in which Marlborough was particularly interested, was that on the liquidation of the debt due to the prince of Denmark.

For the purpose of accelerating an accommodation between Sweden and Denmark, during the late war, the king had persuaded prince George

* Letters from lord Somers and Vernon in the Shrewsbury Collection, December 1699; and Hardwicke Papers, vol. ii. p. 362. — Also Dalrymple, part iii. book vii. p. 180, and Somerville's William, p. 517.

to surrender the Isle of Yammeren, and the bailiwicks of Transbottel and Steinholst, on which he held a mortgage amounting to £85,000 sterling, to the duke of Holstein. In return, the king charged himself with the mortgage, and till it was liquidated, engaged to pay the interest of six per cent. The prince being anxious for the repayment of the money, the king, in compliance with his repeated solicitations, at length imparted the matter to parliament, in his speech of November 1699, when he recommended the discharge of the public debt. It was accordingly taken into consideration, and made the theme for reflections in the highest degree offensive to the king. In January 1700, a supply was voted for the purpose; but clogged with the condition that the money should be vested in the purchase of lands, which were to be settled on the prince and princess, and their issue, in conformity with their marriage contract. Other objections were afterwards advanced; but the money was finally repaid, because the most violent of the opposition were desirous to gratify the prince at the expence of the king. The zeal which Marlborough and his lady had manifested in the promotion of this object, was gratefully acknowledged by the princess, in a letter of thanks, written in the warmest style of regard, and ascribing the success of the measure solely to their interference. *

* Conduct, p. 287. The account of this transaction is given from MSS. in the Marlborough Papers. It is also mentioned in Ralph and Tindal — Journals — Chandler's Commons Debates, vol. iii. p. 106. — Ralph, p. 813.

Although Marlborough had not entered into the factious discussions which arose from this question, the king was too jealous of the slightest interference in behalf of the prince, to regard his conduct without dissatisfaction. The impression was however only transient; for Vernon, in a letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, written in the same month, observes, "I think the cloud which has been hanging over my lord Marlborough is clearing up."*

Except the dismission of the dutch guards, no parliamentary interference more deeply affected William, than the resumption of the Irish grants. It created an almost unprecedented degree of ferment both in the parliament and nation. After long and acrimonious debates, a bill passed the commons for resuming these grants, and appropriating the money arising from the sale of the property, to the payment of the army. The execution of the act was intrusted to thirteen commissioners, who were armed with almost inquisitorial powers; and to extort the assent of the peers, it was tacked to the land tax bill, as one of the sources of revenue.

To prevent it from passing, the king's friends in the house of peers proposed various amendments, which, as it was identified with a money bill, would naturally be rejected by the commons. This expedient was, however, highly resented by the lower house. The most violent resolutions were proposed, reflecting on the king and his foreign adherents; and every artifice was employed to ex-

* Vernon to the duke of Shrewsbury, January 1700.

cite the public alarm and indignation. Motions were even prepared for the banishment of the earls of Portland and Albemarle, as well as of all other foreigners in offices of honour or trust, except the prince of Denmark. Several conferences between the two houses only served to widen the breach, and to provoke new animosity. At the instances of his friends and adherents, the king himself prevailed on the lords to recede from their amendments; but he was finally compelled to give a hasty assent to the bill, and prorogue the parliament, in order to avoid the mortification of receiving an address from the commons, which had passed by acclamation, requiring the removal of all foreigners from the privy council.

Marlborough strongly disapproved the Irish grants, and therefore opposed the amendments; but observing that the violence of his own party threatened the very existence of the government, he retired from the house, that he might not be obliged to vote when the question was put, for adopting the bill without alteration. * Notwithstanding this consistent and honourable conduct, he experienced the usual fate of such as attempt to steer between opposite extremes. The feelings of the king were too much wounded to regard with indulgence any one who had favoured the obnoxious

* Secretary Vernon to the duke of Shrewsbury, April 10. 1700. This letter contains the only distinct and satisfactory account of the proceedings in the house of lords, when the bill passed. From the journals it appears that Marlborough attended at the opening of the debate; but it is from Vernon's letter that we find he retired before the question was put.

bill; while the victorious party stigmatised all who had not fully entered into their measures, as enemies to the country. Accordingly we find Marlborough complaining of his unpleasant situation, in a letter written soon afterwards to his friend the duke of Shrewsbury:

"*May* 11. 1700.—The king's coldness to me still continues; so that I should have been glad to have had your friendly advice; for to have friends and acquaintance unreasonably jealous, and the king at the same time angry, is what I know not how to bear, nor do I know how to behave myself." *

The displeasure of the king was, however, speedily dissipated; and he appears to have rendered justice to the consistency of Marlborough, who had checked the violence of his party, without deserting his principles. William shewed him new proofs of cordiality, by consulting him on the change which he meditated in the administration, as well as by employing him as the agent of a confidential communication with lord Sunderland, on the actual state of affairs; and he was selected as one of the lords justices, to conduct the government during the king's absence abroad. In fact Marlborough took so active a share in political transactions, that he incurred the jealousy of the whigs; for in a letter to the duke of Shrewsbury we find him complaining of the ill humour manifested by the lord chancellor Somers, and attempting to justify himself against the peevish imputa-

* Shrewsbury Papers.

tion of lord Orford, that he was absolutely governed by lord Sunderland. *

Amidst the mortifications which William had undergone in the preceding session, it is no wonder that he adopted the resolution of dismissing the whigs, who were either unable, or unwilling, to support his government. This determination he began to carry into effect before his departure for the continent, and completed it on his return.

Indeed a political dissolution had gradually taken place in the whig part of the ministry. Since the affair of sir John Fenwick, the duke of Shrewsbury had not only withdrawn from active business, but had so repeatedly solicited permission to resign, that William at length granted his request. For a short time he was persuaded to hold the post of lord chamberlain; but he soon relinquished his office, and went abroad, under the plea of ill health. The place of secretary of state, vacant by his resignation, was transferred to the earl of Jersey. The whigs successively withdrew from their situations. Orford retired in disgust in June, 1699; and Montagu quitted the treasury in November, with the promise of being called to the peerage. Somers was indignant at the timidity of his colleagues, and persisted in retaining the seals, till he received his formal dismission in May, 1700.

During these transactions the king had entered into a secret negotiation with lord Rochester, for

* Earl of Marlborough to the duke of Shrewsbury, June 3. 1699.—Shrewsbury Papers.

the appointment of a tory cabinet. Rochester was to be considered as the principal minister, with the lucrative and honourable post of lord lieutenant of Ireland, though without the obligation of a continued residence. Sir Nathan Wright received the seals, as lord keeper; lord Jersey was removed to the office of lord chamberlain, in the room of Shrewsbury; and, still more to gratify the tories, the vacant secretaryship was given to sir Charles Hedges.

The treasury was offered to lord Godolphin; and, on his refusal, at the instigation of Marlborough, who recommended him for the less invidious office of privy seal *, it was conferred on lord Tankerville. By the persuasion of the king, he was, however, soon afterwards induced to accept the treasury; and lord Tankerville was nominated privy seal. Of the few persons in office, who were not identified with the tory party, was Mr. Smith, chancellor of the Exchequer, whose political heresy was overlooked in favour of his talents and integrity; and Vernon, secretary of state, who was personally acceptable to the king, and was too moderate and circumspect, to excite the jealousy of either party.

Having thus re-modelled the ministry, the king summoned a new parliament. The struggle in the elections was extremely violent; but the death of the duke of Gloucester, and the perfidious conduct of the french king, in usurping the spanish monarchy, created such an alarm in the nation,

* Vernon's Correspondence with the duke of Shrewsbury, in 1700. —Shrewsbury Papers.

that the number of jacobite members was much diminished, and the preponderance thrown on the side of the tories.

The parliament assembled on the 17th of February; and the relative strength of parties appeared in the nomination of the speaker. The whigs wished to re-elect sir Thomas Littleton; but the king persuaded him to decline the contest, and the tory candidate, Mr. Harley, was chosen by a large majority, in opposition to sir Richard Onslow.

As the new speaker was the intimate friend of Marlborough, and as he afterwards bore so conspicuous a part in public affairs, we shall here introduce a few remarks on his character, connections, and principles.

Robert Harley had imbibed from his father the whig doctrines; and as he had been brought up in the principles of the low church, he was even suspected of a tendency to puritanism. At all events, his family adhered to the presbyterian form of worship, and he himself appears to have maintained an intimate connection with the dissenters. Being a decided enemy to popery, he took so prominent a part in the Revolution, that he was selected by the gentry of Worcestershire to convey a tender of their services to the prince of Orange. He was brought into parliament after the accession of king William, and speedily became an active and useful member. He not only distinguished himself by his skill in finance, but in 1694 he was chosen to prepare the act, which

formed the ground-work of the celebrated triennial bill.

About this time he changed his political tenets, and ranged himself with the tories, though his principles were always regarded as moderate, and he maintained his connection with many of different sentiments. His talents for business, conciliating manners, and dexterity in debate, gave him at an early period considerable influence in the house of commons. A distant relationship with the countess of Marlborough first introduced him to the notice of her husband. A conformity in political sentiments gave rise to a more intimate acquaintance, which was gradually matured into the highest degree of cordiality and friendship. From the interest which Marlborough afterwards took in the advancement of Harley, there is little doubt that he zealously promoted his views, and gave essential aid in his elevation to the speaker's chair. We now revert to the change in domestic policy, which was connected with the appointment of Harley to so important a station. In transferring the powers of government to the tories, the king appears to have widely miscalculated the strength of party prejudice. Relying, however, on the support of his new ministry, he had employed the interval since the dissolution, in arranging measures calculated to secure domestic tranquillity, and to maintain the independence of Europe against the usurpations of Louis the fourteenth.

The declining health of Charles the second, king of Spain, and the prospect of a contest for the succession to the crown, had long occupied

his serious attention. He therefore concluded the first Partition Treaty, for the eventual division of the spanish monarchy, by which he hoped to accommodate the jarring pretensions of the different claimants, and prevent the king of France from grasping the whole. This arrangement being frustrated by the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, to whom Spain and the Indies had been assigned, he entered into a new engagement, which is called the second Partition Treaty. Spain, the Indies, and the Low Countries were to descend to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor Leopold, who deduced his pretensions from Margaret, younger daughter of Philip the fourth. To meet the claims which Louis still advanced, notwithstanding the most solemn renunciation, the two Sicilies, with other provinces, depending on an eventual convention, were to be transferred to the dauphin, in right of his mother, Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip. This treaty, however, satisfied neither party, and the momentous question was yet involved in doubt and hazard.*

The death of Charles, which happened on the first of November, 1700, proved the futility of all attempts to settle a question, which could be decided only by arms. The king of France having gained a strong party in the court of Madrid, induced the dying monarch to nominate as his universal heir, Philip, duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin. Despising the restraints of treaties

* Memoirs of the kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon. — Introduction.

and renunciations, he instantly accepted the bequest in the name of his grandson, and the young prince was tranquilly acknowledged by the whole nation, under the title of Philip the fifth.

William had no other alternative than an appeal to his parliament, for aid to obviate the mischiefs which were justly apprehended from this enormous addition to the power of the french monarchy. His next object was, to complete the arrangements for the succession to the british crown; as, by the death of the duke of Gloucester, the continuance of a protestant government depended on the single life of the princess Anne.

But many among the tories who had strenuously opposed the breach of hereditary succession at the Revolution, were alarmed at the recurrence of circumstances, which rendered a similar expedient unavoidable; and unfortunately for the views of William, this party was now entrusted with the powers of government. The whigs, who were interested to consolidate the protestant establishment, were divided among themselves, dissatisfied with the king, and without that confidence and energy which they had manifested at the Revolution. Another series of embarrassments arose from the sentiments and prejudices of the Princess Anne. At the Revolution she had been induced to desert her father, by zeal for her religion, by popular enthusiasm, and by the persuasion that the pretended prince of Wales was a supposititious child. But pique against William, and perhaps the secret remonstrances of her parents, produced

a change in her feelings towards her unfortunate family; and since the death of her son, she had regarded with more scruple the proofs of her brother's illegitimacy. Still, however, the brilliant prospect of a crown was not without attractions; and she was not inclined to forego the preference given to her by the act of settlement, though she was far from being averse to the eventual restoration of the Stuart line.

These feelings operating on a weak and sensitive mind, we find her continually fluctuating between her wishes and her fears; her duty to her parents, and her own interest; her regard for her family; and her zeal for the protestant religion. So far, indeed, had she been influenced by these considerations, that she communicated to her father the intelligence of her son's death; and when the declining health of William opened a nearer prospect of her succession, she privately solicited his sanction for her acceptance of the crown. She even declared her readiness to make a restitution, whenever an opportunity should occur.* The peremptory prohibition of James contributed still farther to increase her perplexity and agitate her feelings; and she contemplated with repugnance the entail of the crown on a collateral branch, even though it gave additional security to her own succession.

Aware of all these obstacles, William pursued his design with his customary policy and perseverance. He affected to take a deep interest in the

* Macpherson's History, vol. ii. p. 130.—Life of James by Clarke, vol. ii. p. 559.

character and conduct of the young pretender; and permitted his own agents to circulate rumours of a design to introduce him in the succession next to himself. He gave countenance, at the same time, to similar reports, respecting the house of Hanover. He even instigated, or suffered his friends to move a petition in parliament, soliciting that he would tranquillize the apprehensions of the country, by engaging in a second marriage, which might afford the prospect of issue.*

Amidst the alarm and agitation into which Anne was thrown by these jarring rumours, she naturally recurred to the advice of Marlborough and his countess; and we cannot doubt that they dissuaded her from any opposition, which might have proved fatal to her own claims, without benefiting her family.

The affair being thus matured, the king called the attention of parliament to the entail of the crown on the protestant line, and to the danger arising from the accession of a Bourbon prince to the spanish throne. After such a contest as was naturally to be expected from the discordant views and hopes of different parties, a bill was passed, entailing the british crown on the House of Hanover, with a series of limitations, some of which, though just in themselves, were yet introduced as much for the immediate purpose of mortifying the king, as from a fear of the mischiefs which might eventually arise from the influence of foreigners. With respect to the spanish monarchy, the tories

* Cunningham, vol, i. p. 185.— Somerville's William, p. 545.

were as little tractable as on other occasions. The house of commons presented to the king a cold and discouraging address, merely announcing their willingness to support him in fulfilling the treaty of 1667 with the dutch, by which England was limited to a succour of 10,000 men and twenty ships of war. The ministry, however, compelled him to acknowledge Philip, in order to prevent a specific application for that purpose, which was threatened by some of the violent leaders in the house of commons. Amidst these contradictions and discouragements, William had only the faint consolation of receiving a more spirited address from the peers.

On this occasion we cannot trace the conduct of Marlborough; though it is scarcely possible to suppose that he approved the impolitic prejudices of his party; convinced as he was of the danger to which the civilised world was exposed from the preponderance of France. We are, however, concerned to find him soon afterwards yielding to the baneful spirit of party, and concurring in the efforts of the tories to throw odium on the king and ex-ministers, for their conduct in negotiating the last Treaty of Partition.

After the death of the king of Spain, this unfortunate treaty became public, and excited a general ferment of discontent. An impeachment was instituted by the tory leaders, against Portland, Orford, Halifax and Somers, as advisers of so dishonourable an engagement; though, with a shameful partiality, no complaint was adduced against lord Jersey, by whom it was arranged, in the quality of

embassador, or against Vernon, through whose hands it had passed as secretary of state; nor did the accusers turn their view to the conduct of the preceding parliament, which by an impolitic economy had reduced the king to submit to so humiliating a treaty.

In this crisis, the peers proved themselves the champions of the constitution, and the friends of justice, by acquitting the persecuted ex-ministers in the most solemn and satisfactory manner. This verdict raised the indignation of the tories in the commons. They were seconded by their friends in the upper house; and we regret to find the name of Marlborough in the protests, some of which were so violent, as to be expunged from the journals. It is difficult to assign a motive for a conduct so contrary to his usual moderation, and to his friendship for some of the persecuted lords.

The unjustifiable and flagrant proceedings of the commons, awakened the resentment of the nation. Petitions of the most threatening nature were voted against them, in different parts of the kingdom: they were accused of corruption by french gold, and assailed in various publications, which daily issued from the press. At length the tories discovered that they had carried their hostilities beyond the bounds of prudence. They shrunk from the imputation of connivance at the usurpations of France, and heard with shame, and mortification, the urgent appeals for succour, which were made by the emperor, and the dutch. To compensate for their past misconduct, or at least to gain popularity, they closed this stormy session by voting li-

beral supplies to the king, against the contingencies which might occur; and conveyed the most solemn assurances of support, in all such alliances as he should think proper to conclude, for maintaining the peace of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. To these laudable resolutions Marlborough contributed with all his influence.

On the 24th of June, William prorogued the parliament, and prepared for his journey to the continent. Before his departure he was importuned by the tories to dismiss the small remnant of whigs, who yet were permitted to fill subordinate offices in the government; but he eluded the demand, and left the administration as it was then constituted.

Although the king had shown great attention to Marlborough, and invariably testified the estimation in which he held his talents and services; yet he never entirely conquered his early prejudices, or divested himself of that jealousy which sovereigns usually feel, against the adherents of those who are destined to succeed them. At this period, however, he overlooked all inferior considerations, and placed Marlborough in a post of the highest consequence, next to his own person. His motives for this choice were laudably disinterested and patriotic. Sensible of his own approaching dissolution, foreseeing the inevitable necessity of a continental war, and anxious for the maintenance of that system, which it had been the labour and boast of his life to uphold, he was desirous that the political

and military powers should be transferred to one, who, with abilities equal to the emergency, might possess the confidence of the country, and the good will of his successor. In no one were these requisites united except in Marlborough. Accordingly William selected him to command the forces in the Netherlands, and to negotiate the treaties, which were to be formed with foreign powers, for the renewal of the grand alliance. This choice, as judicious in itself as it was honourable to his feelings, was almost his last act before he quitted England, to organize the most formidable confederacy, which had yet been marshaled against France.

Marlborough accompanied the king abroad, and saw with regret his rising displeasure against the tories, though it was the natural consequence of their hostility towards his person, and factious opposition to his measures. He hoped, however, that the party with which he had identified himself, had made reparation by their zeal in voting the supplies. He trusted, also, that the absence of the king from England would allow the feelings of resentment and mortification to subside. A change which had taken place among the dutch adherents of William, inspired him with additional confidence. The earl of Portland, his own personal enemy, who had been chiefly exposed to the attacks of the tories, was now supplanted by Keppel, a young nobleman of good family, who from the post of private secretary was rapidly promoted to high honours, created earl of Albemarle, and distin-

guished with the garter. This nobleman had manifested towards Marlborough great respect and confidence, professed a favourable disposition towards the tories, and promised to communicate such information as might enable him to ascertain the real sentiments of his royal master.

CHAPTER 9.

1701—1702.

Marlborough accompanies the king to Holland. — Intrusted with the conduct of the negotiations for the grand alliance. — Difficulties arising from the situation of the European powers.— Concludes treaties with the emperor and the States — With Sweden and Prussia. — Correspondence with lord Godolphin.— Intrigues for a change of administration, during the stay of Marlborough at the Hague. — Anxiety of Marlborough to avert the fall of the tory ministry.— Death of James the second, and acknowledgment of his son as king of England, by Louis the fourteenth.—Effects of this acknowledgment in England, and unpopularity of the tories.— The king embarks for England— Dissolves the parliament — Changes in administration. — Death of William. — His dying recommendation of Marlborough to his successor.

MARLBOROUGH embarked with the king at Margate, on the 1st of July, and reached the Hague on the 3d, prepared to fulfil his instructions.

He commenced his negotiations under inauspicious circumstances. Louis had no sooner accepted the will of Charles the second, than he carried into execution the measures which had been previously matured, for securing tranquil possession of the spanish throne. He directed his first attention to the Netherlands, whence he most dreaded an attack. He gained the elector of Bavaria, to whom the government had been confided, by the deceased

monarch, and not only secured the frontier fortresses, but detained 15,000 dutch troops, who, in virtue of a convention with Spain, formed the garrisons of the barrier towns. The loss of so large a body, consisting of the flower of the army, and the sudden advance of a french force towards the frontier, intimidated the dutch; and to obtain the liberation of their captive troops, they acknowledged Philip king of Spain. Their example induced the tory ministry to extort a similar recognition from William.

At the same time, Louis affected great anxiety to dissipate the alarms conceived both in England and Holland, by the transfer of Spain to a Bourbon prince, and dispatched d'Avaux to the Hague to open a negotiation. On the arrival of Marlborough, the discussion was still pending, and no expedient was neglected to alarm or lure the States. Indeed pensionary Heinsius himself, though zealously attached to William, was persuaded that an arrangement might yet be effected, and expressed his hopes that Louis would give satisfaction to the emperor rather than incur the risk of a war.*

To prevent the invasion of Spain on the only accessible quarter, Louis had formed a treaty of alliance with Portugal. He obtained also the recognition of Philip, in the Milanese and the Two Sicilies. By a treaty with the duke of Savoy, he secured an entry into Italy; while the occupation of Mantua and the neighbouring fortresses, with the consent of the respective sovereigns, not only

* Marlborough to lord Godolphin, August 6. 1701.

opened the principal passages into Lombardy, but afforded the means for a direct attack against the Austrian dominions.

Germany was at this time agitated by civil and religious feuds, which facilitated the intrigues of the french monarch, and many of the princes openly embraced his cause.

The emperor Leopold was the only sovereign from whom the slightest opposition to the encroachments of France could be expected; but he was embarrassed by the disorder of his finances, by a rising rebellion in Hungary, which was fomented by french intrigues, and by the prospect of new aggressions from the Turks. Yet, amidst these dangers and difficulties, he stood in the breach, with a spirit worthy of his magnanimous ancestry. He was indeed secretly instigated by William to maintain the interests of his house, and the dignity of his character; and urged to make an immediate effort in Italy, with the hope that a momentary success would encourage the well-intentioned, and rouse the European states, in defence of their independence. *

Accordingly Leopold publicly protested against the usurpation of the spanish throne, and dispatched an army across the Trentine Alps, under the command of prince Eugene, with the design of making a prompt and effectual impression in a quarter where the nature of the country circumscribed the enemy in their means of defence. Already had the hero of Zenta displayed his characteristic spirit

* Count Wratislaw to the earl of Marlborough, Vienna, May 4. 1701.

of enterprise by scaling the natural barriers of Italy, and establishing his army on the border of Lombardy; and all Europe waited, in anxious suspense, the result of the approaching conflict.

Hitherto William had himself directed his political, as well as military system. But on this occasion he confided the negotiations, arising from such new and critical circumstances, to Marlborough, being fully convinced of his judgment and abilities, and conscious of his influence over the English ministry.

As a preparatory step, a subsidiary treaty had been signed with Denmark, before the king's departure from England; and overtures were now made for a series of alliances with different princes and states.

The negotiation was not confined to the states of Germany, but extended to those of Denmark, Sweden, and Muscovy, whose mutual jealousies might have raised obstacles to this extensive system of confederation. In the arrangement of a plan, which embraced the varied interests of the greater part of Europe, our able negotiator had to bring to unison, the wishes of his own sovereign, the selfish timidity and political prejudices of the british ministry, the commercial cupidity of the dutch, the captious and grasping spirit of the German states, and, above all, the lofty pretensions of the emperor, who strenuously asserted the rights of his family to the whole spanish monarchy. In this delicate task his abilities and discretion were eminently conspicuous, and his consummate address was displayed in soothing mutual jealousies, and recon-

ciling discordant views. His correspondence with his friend lord Godolphin enables us to throw additional light on these important transactions.

Among the negotiations committed to his management, one of the most difficult, was that with Sweden. Charles the twelfth had excited general admiration, by heroism almost romantic, as well as by a series of enterprises, distinguished no less for boldness of design, than for promptitude and vigour of execution. Having humbled the Danes and Poles, he was engaged in wreaking his vengeance on the czar, Peter, whom he had recently defeated at Narva, with a great disparity of force.

It was an object of high importance to conciliate a monarch who held the balance of the North; for besides an auxiliary force, which he was entitled to claim from England, in virtue of existing treaties, he might, by again embroiling himself with Denmark, have frustrated the engagement lately formed for drawing subsidiary troops from that kingdom, and its dependent duchy of Holstein. This object, however, was not of easy attainment. Although Charles was inclined to the alliance with England, and jealous of French preponderance, Louis spared no flattery to captivate his lofty spirit, and gratify his love of applause. He had applied with still more success to his venal ministry; and remittances to a vast amount, which were traced from Paris to Stockholm, proved, that the french court would neglect neither bribes nor intrigues, to secure the alliance of Sweden.

The knowledge of these circumstances prompted Marlborough to overstep his usual caution in

hastening the arrangement. He pressed the english ministry to fulfil their promise of furnishing a considerable quantity of cloth and salt-petre, for the use of the swedish army, and importuned Godolphin to obviate the difficulties which arose in the course of the negotiation. To counteract the influence of french gold, he lavished presents on the swedish ministry, and had the satisfaction to succeed in obtaining their support. At length he even ventured to conclude a convention, without submitting it to the previous approbation of the lords justices, from a conviction that the urgency of the case would justify a deviation from the regular forms of office.*

The object of this convention was two-fold: the first to prevent Sweden from joining France, the second to bind Charles not to insist on the succours, in men and ships, stipulated by treaty. These objects were both attained, and England was exempted from the claim of succour, by paying 200,000 crowns, as an equivalent, and by becoming responsible for 300,000 more, which were to be advanced by the dutch on the customs of Riga. Commissioners also were to be appointed to devise in what manner the confederates might best assist each other, should the contest with Russia continue, or should a war break out with Denmark. In a word, this was a tacit engagement, not only to obtain troops from Denmark and Holstein, but eventually from Russia, and even from Sweden itself.†

The negotiation with Frederick, king of Prussia,

* Letter from Marlborough to Godolphin, Sept. 23. 1701.

† Letter to lord Godolphin.

presented difficulties of another kind. The great objects of this sovereign were, to recruit his finances by a subsidiary treaty, and still more, to obtain the confirmation of the regal title, which he had recently assumed, and which many prudential reasons induced the emperor to delay.

These points he pressed with the utmost warmth and pertinacity, well aware that the allies were desirous of conciliating his friendship, no less from his influence as the first protestant prince of the empire, than from his matrimonial connection with the house of Hanover. Marlborough, however, was too sensible of the timidity or caution of his friends in the ministry, to implicate the government in a subsidiary treaty, without the consent of parliament, and therefore he found means to retard any definitive arrangement, yet without giving umbrage to a prince whose co-operation was deemed so necessary. Although an agreement was drawn out for an auxiliary force of 5000 men, in the first instance, and eventually for 20,000 more, the treaty was not brought to a formal conclusion, till after the return of Marlborough to England*, and it had received the sanction of parliament.

The extravagant pretensions of the imperial court clogged the fundamental negotiation of the two maritime powers. Marlborough experienced no trifling difficulty in reconciling these lofty claims with the timid caution of the dutch, and the commercial jealousy of the english. One of

* Correspondence of Marlborough with lord Godolphin.

his letters to Godolphin, dated July 22, displays his embarrassments, on a point so important to the whole confederacy, as well as the firmness and discretion which he displayed on this delicate occasion.

Relating the first of his conferences with the imperial envoys and the pensionary, he observes:—

"A great deal of time was spent in the emperor's ministers complaining of the Treaty of Partition, and when we came to the business for which we met, they would have the foundation of the treaty to be for lessening the power of France, and assisting the emperor in his just rights to the monarchy of Spain. But the pensionary would not consent to any thing further, than that the emperor ought to be satisfied with having Flanders, which would be a security to the dutch, and Milan, as a fief of the empire. After four hours' wrangling, the two envoys went away; and then I endeavoured to let the pensionary see that no treaty of this kind would be acceptable in England, if there were not care taken of the Mediterranean and the West Indies. When I gave the king an account, he was of my mind, so that the pensionary has promised to use his endeavours with the town of Amsterdam; for they are unwilling to consent to any thing more than Flanders and Milan."

A negotiation commenced by the contracting parties on principles so discordant, promised no speedy issue; and the difficulty was increased by the necessity of consulting the lords justices in England. The zeal and address of Marlborough, however, triumphed over these obstacles, and by a

letter dated in the commencement of September, we find the treaty reduced in form, and transmitted to lord Godolphin, for his approbation. Some trifling alterations were made at the suggestion of all parties, and it was finally signed on the 7th of September, for the sanction of parliament.

The maritime powers pledged themselves to obtain satisfaction for the emperor's claims on the spanish succession, and should their negotiations prove fruitless, in two months, the contracting parties agreed to assist each other with their whole force. Considering the possession of the Netherlands of the utmost consequence, the confederates were to employ their efforts in recovering those provinces as a barrier to Holland; and similar exertions were to be made for securing Milan to the house of Austria, together with Naples and Sicily.

To favour the commercial interests of the maritime powers, a stipulation was introduced, authorizing them to retain all their conquests in the spanish Indies. The members of the alliance also engaged to prevent the union of France and Spain under the same government, or in the same family; and to restrain the french from possessing any part of the spanish territories, beyond the Atlantic. The subjects of England and Holland were to enjoy the same privileges of trade in Spain as under the austrian dynasty, and in case of peace, the barrier for the dutch, and the privileges of trade were not only to be secured by treaty, but a defensive alliance was to be formed, to obviate future dangers.

The leading articles were confirmed by a separate alliance between the two maritime powers. In this engagement were comprised the guaranty of former treaties, mutual succour, in case of attack, and the faithful execution of the last engagement with the emperor.

In the arrangement of the alliance with the emperor, Marlborough encountered considerable embarrassments, with regard to the specification of what was called the *denombrement*, or relative proportion of troops, to be supplied by each of the contracting parties. He was urged both by the dutch government, and even by William, to fix this proportion for England, on his own authority; but he declined incurring such responsibility, as disrespectful to the parliament, if not contrary to the constitution, to stipulate for the maintenance of a specific military force, before the legislative sanction was obtained. His correspondence on this head displays his usual judgment and firmness, and he thus concludes a letter on this subject to Secretary Hedges.

" Oct. 3–14. I will let you know the method I could wish his majesty would take, which is very plainly to let the parliament know what the emperor and the dutch are to furnish; and at the same time to give his own opinion very frankly, and that by the 24th of November, our style, which is the day the two months end, mentioned in the treaty, he is obliged to fix this *denombrement*. I think by this method we shall have the parliament on our side, and gain a greater number of men than the other way. Were I with you I could

say a great deal upon this subject; for I am so fully persuaded that, if the king should be prevailed upon to settle this by his own authority, we shall never see a quiet day more in England; and consequently not only ruin ourselves, but also undo the liberties of Europe: for if the king and parliament begin with a dispute, France will give what laws she pleases.

" I am sure I would rather be buried alive than be the fatal instrument of such misfortunes."

To lord Godolphin also he observes in the same firm and explicit manner: —

" Oct. 21. 1701. It is very plain to me that the pensioner continues his opinion, that I ought to finish the *denombrement* before the meeting of the parliament; but I have been so positive, that he despairs of prevailing upon me; but I am afraid he hopes the king may be able, when he comes to England, to persuade yourself and the cabinet council to it, so that I may have orders sent me, believing that I should then make no difficulty; but I do assure you, that I am so persuaded that the doing of this, by his majesty's authority, would prove so fatal to himself, and the kingdom, that I should desire to be recalled; for, before God, I will die sooner than do so fatal a thing."

The objections of Marlborough, supported by his friends in England, produced their effect; and a separate convention was settled, stipulating 90,000 men for the quota of the emperor, 10,000 for that of the dutch, and leaving that of England, which was privately settled at 40,000 men, to be finally fixed by parliament. We find several of his

letters earnestly and repeatedly urging his friends in England to sanction this arrangement, as the means of gaining the confidence of the king, and saving their country and Europe.

Besides these primary treaties, overtures were made to the elector palatine and other german princes. But as these engagements involved the stipulation of subsidies, Marlborough combated the inclinations of the king, and at length prevailed on him to delay the conclusion of specific treaties, until they could be submitted to the great council of the nation.

William being convinced that all the proposals of Louis to negotiate were illusory, exerted his utmost efforts to meet the contest, which he considered as inevitable. Besides the prospect of support which he held forth to the emperor, he was anxious to deprive the french monarch of those pecuniary resources which Spain was expected to furnish from her American colonies. He therefore formed the plan of sending a fleet to intercept the flota, then on the point of departure. He readily obtained the co-operation of the States, who were anxious to secure the effects of their own merchants; and he employed the agency of Marlborough to bring the english ministry into his views.* By this expedient he obtained the consent of the lords justices, to detach a part of the british fleet on the expedition; and though no capture was made, because the flota was not permitted to sail, yet it produced the effect of depriving

* Marlborough's Correspondence with lord Godolphin.

France of the spanish treasures, on which the greatest reliance had been placed.

Collaterally with these negotiations the attention of Marlborough was occupied by domestic politics, and the intrigues for a change of administration.

When William intrusted the management of affairs to the tories, he hoped that the change would give stability to his government. But the event did not accord with his expectations. He indeed gained his object in securing the establishment of the protestant succession; yet in every other view he was grievously disappointed.

Notwithstanding the attempts of the tories to assume a merit for their reluctant concession, the tide of popularity was turned against them. The whigs, though hated in power, became the favourites of the nation, when in disgrace; while the tories, by indulging their party vengeance, excited general disgust, and no less offended the people than the king. As they were adverse to the very principles on which his government was founded, their opposition to his measures was regarded as the effect of antipathy to his person; nor was their conduct in foreign affairs calculated to redeem the errors and selfishness of their domestic policy: they displayed the most degrading servility towards France, as well as a lukewarmness equally culpable, to the honour and permanent interests of their own country.

The king felt the irksomeness of his situation: but discouraged by repeated disappointments, he sunk into a state of irresolution. He found it im-

possible to conduct the government with a tory ministry; yet he knew not how to regain the confidence of the whigs; and even if he recalled them to office, he was apprehensive that they would again prove themselves too weak to maintain the authority of the crown. Thus situated, he regarded the period of the tory administration as the most perplexing of his whole life, and anxiously watched the current of popular opinion to liberate himself from their control. Such was the temper in which he took his departure for Holland. During his stay abroad, his impatience and anxiety hourly increased; and he frequently recurred to the advice of his confidential counsellor, Sunderland, who inflamed his resentment against the tories, and strenuously recommended a reconciliation with the whigs. *

Godolphin and his party were conscious of their demerits with the king, and were consequently anxious to ascertain his real views. Accordingly, soon after William's arrival in Holland, the minister transmitted to him a scheme for conducting the business of the ensuing session, and earnestly recommended a speedy meeting of parliament. The expedient was, however, fruitless: for William contrived to invent pretexts for delay, till he could discover the real strength of the whigs, and the prevailing disposition of the country. †

Marlborough was too zealously attached to his

* Correspondence between king William and lord Sunderland—Hardwicke Papers, v. ii. p. 445.

† Correspondence of Marlborough with Godolphin.

friends and party, to witness without interest the struggles which agitated the mind of his royal master. His correspondence strongly depicts his own feelings as well as the embarrassment and smothered indignation of the king. He was not unacquainted with the influence and suggestions of Sunderland; and notwithstanding their former friendship and recent family connection, he indignantly dwells on his private machinations, and more than once refers to his name with expressions of abhorrence. He seems, however, to have confided in the friendship of the earl of Albemarle, who affected great zeal for the tory cause, and promised to apprize him of the sentiments of the king; and to the latest moment he flattered himself that the resentment of the monarch would subside, or that the tories would regain his confidence.

At this period Godolphin also caught the alarm, and announced his resolution to retire from office. Marlborough, however, earnestly deprecated this precipitate measure. In several letters he urges his friend to regulate his conduct by the advice of lord Rochester, and the other chiefs of the party, and above all to wait his own return, hinting that he himself would follow the example, if the king should persist in the line of policy which he had apparently adopted.

The tone of Marlborough's correspondence at this crisis, shows that he entertained little hope of any change favourable to the tory cause. The antigalican party in Holland, which was extremely powerful, importuned the king to dissolve

the parliament, and chuse a ministry inclined to act vigorously against France; and their representations were warmly seconded by pensionary Heinsius, who possessed the full confidence of the monarch. Several persons of consideration in England repaired to Holland for the same purpose. Among these we find the earl of Carlisle, the accredited agent of the whigs, who was strongly recommended by lord Sunderland, and hoped to supplant Godolphin at the treasury board. The king was thus beset by the enemies of the tories, while his habitual reserve rendered him inaccessible to those of opposite sentiments. A temporary indisposition contributed to increase his seclusion, and gave ample scope to the representations of those who were labouring for a change.

Marlborough himself, though attached to his party, was perfectly conscious of their demerits, and anxiously endeavoured to instil into them such maxims of policy as would gratify the king, and promote the public cause. In several of his letters he expresses his conviction, that, if they did not support the system of continental connections, and oppose a vigorous resistance to the power of France, they would not only be accessary to their own disgrace, but to the ruin of their country. These well-timed remonstrances produced little effect, and he had the mortification to observe the alienation of the king hourly increase.

As a last resource he persuaded Godolphin to write an ostensible letter, which he might communicate to the king as a pledge of the favourable intentions entertained by his party. Accordingly

the minister sent a long and laboured epistle, in which he expatiated on the claims of the tories to public confidence, dwelt on the large supplies which they had voted in the preceding sessions, and expressed a conviction that they would redeem the pledge they had given to prosecute the war against France with vigour and effect. Finally, he pressed for a speedy proclamation, summoning the parliament at an early period, to resume its beneficial labours. *

This letter was submitted by Marlborough to the king, but received with a degree of reserve, ill calculated to dissipate their alarms and anxiety.

In the midst of this political struggle, James the second died on the 16th of September, and the acknowledgment of his son as king by Louis the fourteenth roused general resentment in England. Addresses poured in from all quarters expressing the warmest attachment to the established government, as well as equal indignation at the unexampled perfidy and unwarrantable ambition of the french court. In consequence of this change in the public sentiment, the irresolution of William was changed into confidence, and he took the resolution of recurring to the whigs, in whom alone he could confide.

In this crisis he acted with his characteristic secrecy. He did not undeceive Marlborough in the hope that his friends might yet continue in office; and, on the point of departure, gave him strict orders to remain in Holland, as well to evade

* Godolphin to Marlborough, Sept. 9. 1701.

his remonstrances, as to spare him the mortification of witnessing the intended change. He employed the agency of Heinsius to delay his return, under the pretence of completing the recent arrangements. Finally, he contrived to postpone his own journey, first under the plea of sickness, and afterwards of unfavourable winds, till he saw that the public opinion in England had taken a decided turn. Having thus wrought upon the expectations of Marlborough and his friends, he suddenly embarked, and appeared in England before the least notice had transpired of his voyage.

In the interval, Marlborough remained in the most anxious suspense. His letters show that pretence after pretence was employed to detain him on the continent; and that he watched the arrival of each successive post to confirm his hopes, or realise his fears. Having matured the negotiations with which he was charged, he obtained the long wished-for permission to return; but at the very moment of his embarkation, he was thunderstruck by the receipt of a letter from the secretary of state, announcing the dissolution of parliament, and the retirement of his friend Godolphin from office.*

Without a moment's delay he quitted the Hague, and on his arrival in England found his own party held in general detestation, for the mortifications they had heaped on the king; and the dishonour which they had brought upon the nation, by their timidity in foreign transactions, and violence in

* Secretary Vernon to the earl of Marlborough, Nov. 11. 1701.

domestic policy. Nor were the circumstances of their disgrace calculated to alleviate his chagrin at the failure of his endeavours to rouse them to a more efficient discharge of their public duty.

Soon after his disembarkation, the king had made a final appeal to the tory chiefs, with the view of ascertaining their intentions with regard to foreign policy, and inducing them to desist from the prosecution of the impeached lords. His application was however fruitless, and he had no alternative but to appeal to the nation, and avail himself of the public spirit manifested in all quarters. He accordingly issued a proclamation for a new parliament, but still doubtful whether the whigs could combat that influence, which the landed property of the tories enabled them to exercise in elections, he delayed the intended change of administration. This indecision operated to the disadvantage of the whigs, by enabling the ministers to employ the interest of the crown in support of their own party. Accordingly the whigs were not found to have gained in the new parliament that complete preponderance which was consonant to the wishes of the king and the state of public feeling. On the usual trial of strength in the choice of a speaker, Harley was re-elected by a majority of fourteen, in opposition to Sir Thomas Lyttleton, who was supported by the whigs.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, the zeal manifested by the great mass of the people, and a reliance on the patriotism of the moderate tories, to whom Harley owed his election, encouraged the king to make a farther change in the ministry.

On the 27th of December lord Carlisle was appointed first lord of the treasury, and some modifications were made in the privy council. Lord Somers, by whose advice William had been principally guided, was sensible of the critical state of affairs, and not only declined accepting an office, but induced the chief members of his party to withdraw their pretensions, and give a disinterested support to government.

The speech from the throne, which was the composition of Somers, contained an animated appeal to the spirit and honour of the nation. The affront offered to the british crown, by the acknowledgment of the pretended prince of Wales, was described in terms of dignified resentment, and the parliament was urged to adopt the most effectual means for securing the protestant succession, and frustrating the hopes of those who meditated the overthrow of the established government. The manly eloquence of this speech excited a transport of enthusiasm. The peers announced their concurrence by a loyal address, which was laid on the table for signature, that it might appear no less the act of each individual than the determination of the whole body. It was signed by seventy peers, including those of every distinction and party. In the house of commons also the moderate tories vied with the whigs in testifying their zeal and patriotism.

The temper of the two houses induced the king to make farther changes. On the 4th of January, secretary Hedges was superseded by the earl of Manchester, the earl of Pembroke was appointed

lord high admiral, and his place of president of the council transferred to the duke of Somerset. Lord Rochester was suffered to retain the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, only because it was difficult to find a proper successor. By these modifications the ministry and household consisted of a motley mixture of whigs and moderate tories.

The concern of Marlborough for the resignation of Godolphin, and the dissolution of the parliament was considerably tempered by the countenance shown to that moderate class of his party with whom he was identified, and particularly by the distinction conferred on his confidential friend Harley. He had the additional satisfaction to observe the concurrence of the parliament and ministry in that system of policy, which he had in vain recommended to his colleagues.

The treaties which he had concluded were received with the most unqualified approbation, and liberal supplies voted for the prosecution of the war. An address was presented from the house of commons, requesting the king to introduce an article in the treaties of alliance, stipulating that no peace should be concluded with France, until reparation was made for the great indignity offered to the nation, by the acknowledgment of the pretended prince of Wales. Nor were the cares of the legislature confined to precautions against a foreign enemy. Convinced that no system of policy could be stable, while the domestic establishment remained in uncertainty, the parliament passed several bills for securing the protestant succession. An act of attainder, against the pretended prince of Wales,

and the queen dowager, was followed by another, for the security of his majesty's person, and the succession to the crown in the protestant line. This act also contained a clause enjoining all persons to abjure the pretended prince of Wales; and a second making it equally criminal to imagine or compass the death of the princess of Denmark, as that of the king's eldest son and heir. Strenuous opposition was made to these measures by the high tories, at the head of whom was Nottingham; but their efforts only served to show their general unpopularity.

The bill of abjuration was the last public act of our great deliverer. His health had been so long declining, and his infirmities were much increased by anxiety of mind, arising from the recent feuds at home, and embarrassments abroad, that, during the preceding summer, he had repeatedly prognosticated to his friends his approaching dissolution. His death was accelerated by an accidental fall from his horse; while hunting in the park at Hampton-Court. Supported by the energy of his mind, his constitution struggled for several weeks against the progress of decay, and his dissolution was suspended by Providence, until he had completed the great edifice of civil and religious liberty. When the bill of abjuration was presented for his signature, his hand was too feeble to perform its office, and he stamped his name to this national legacy, a few hours before he breathed his last. He expired on the 8th of March 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

The zeal which Marlborough had manifested in concluding the treaties of alliance, and in promoting the grand designs of William, joined with the fullest conviction of his great talents, as a general and statesman, obliterated the royal prejudices against his person, and the doubts entertained of his fidelity. Considering him as the most proper agent to consolidate the protestant succession, and carry into effect the extensive system which had been formed for the preservation of civil and religious liberty, the last advice of William to his successor was, a strong recommendation of Marlborough, as the most proper person in her dominions to lead her armies, and direct her counsels.*

Indeed the subsequent conduct of Marlborough verified the profound judgment of the dying monarch. Whatever may have been his errors and his faults in the preceding period of doubt and infidelity; whatever intercourse he had hitherto maintained with his former sovereign and benefactor, or which he afterwards held with the Stuart family, he religiously fulfilled the great trust reposed in him by his sovereign and his country, and, more than any individual, contributed to consolidate the great work of the revolution, to baffle the hopes and machinations of the Stuarts and their adherents, and to smite that great colossus of power, which threatened the destruction of civil and religious liberty, and on which they placed their hopes of effecting a counter-revolution.

* Life of Marlborough, p. 304 — Lediard, vol. i. p. 136.

CHAPTER 10.

1702.

ACCESSION OF ANNE.—*Favours conferred on the earl and countess of Marlborough as well as their relatives and friends.—Godolphin placed at the head of the treasury.—Formation of a tory administration.—Mission of Marlborough to the Hague.—Situation of the queen, and the countess of Marlborough.—Their party bickerings.—Embarrassments of Marlborough and Godolphin, from the Whig partialities of the countess.*

ON the death of William, the crown devolved on Anne, in conformity with the order of succession established at the revolution. At the time of the queen's accession, the doubts which she had formerly entertained were suppressed by the change of circumstances, or the brilliant prospect which opened to her view. The recent death of her father relieved her from the scruples which she had felt at his exclusion, and the disputed legitimacy of her brother induced her to acquiesce in the arrangements of the legislature; for even if he was not supposititious, she persuaded herself that he was disqualified by his religious principles, and considered her assumption of the crown as neces-

sary to secure the existence of the established church.*

The first exercise of her power was the nomination of the prince her husband to the offices of generalissimo of the forces, and lord high admiral. Being regarded only as a subject, he still continued to occupy a seat in the house of peers, in the quality of duke of Cumberland.

The distinguished merits of the earl of Marlborough, his former zeal and services, his disgrace on her account, and her own romantic affection to his countess, were powerful recommendations to her favour and confidence. Accordingly the honours which his talents had extorted from William, were but the prelude to higher distinctions and employments. Three days after her accession he was nominated knight of the garter. On the ensuing day he was appointed captain-general of the english forces, at home and abroad, and soon afterwards master of the ordnance. His countess was also made groom of the stole and mistress of the robes, and intrusted with the management of the privy purse.

To the countess the queen also gave an additional and delicate proof of her regard. Recol-

* The duchess observes:—"When I saw she had such a partiality to those that I knew to be jacobites, I asked her one day whether she had a mind to give up her crown; for if it had been her conscience not to wear it, I do solemnly protest I would not have disturbed her, or struggled as I did. But she told me she was not sure the prince of Wales was her brother; and that it was not practicable for him to come here, without ruin to the religion and country." Narrative upon Mrs. Morley's coming to the crown. St. Alban's, Oct. 29. 1709.

lecting that in their excursions through Windsor park she had repeatedly admired the situation of the great lodge, the queen seized the earliest opportunity of offering her the rangership, to which that lodge was attached. In one of her familiar notes, after alluding to lord Portland, who had been ranger under the late king, she added, "Mentioning this worthy person puts me in mind to ask dear Mrs. Freeman a question which I would have done some time ago; and that is, if you would have the lodge for your life, because the warrant must be made accordingly; and any thing that is of so much satisfaction as this poor place seems to be to you, I would give dear Mrs. Freeman for all her days, which I pray God may be as many and as truly happy as this world can make you."* The countess gratefully accepted this offer, embellished the lodge at a great expence, and it became her favourite residence.

Similar proofs of favour flowed on those who were connected with Marlborough and his lady by blood or friendship. Lady Harriet Godolphin and lady Spencer, their two daughters, were nominated ladies of the bed-chamber. The Sunderland family also felt the beneficial effects of their powerful interest. At the particular intercession of the countess, Robert, earl of Sunderland, obtained the renewal of the annual pension of 2000l. which had been granted him by the late king, together with the payment of the arrears since its suspension. By such an unexpected instance of kind-

* The queen to lady Marlborough, May 19. 1702.

ness, the harmony between the two families was restored, and we discover several grateful letters from the earl and countess of Sunderland, one of which is inserted, as indicating the character and address of the veteran statesman.

" *Althorp, March* 11.— Mr. Guy has given me an account of what you said to him concerning me, which I received with great pleasure. Whatever coldness has been between us of late, I am sure on my side, and I believe on yours, was from thinking differently of the public ; which, as it is at an end, so I dare confidently say it will never be again. To convince you of this, I need only tell you, that I wished all yesterday, that every article might be in the queen's speech, which, when the letters came, I found. This may appear vain, but it is true, and my wife can witness it. Except what concerns friends in private affairs, I have no thought nor wish but that the queen may reign long and prosperously over us. I know nothing else can keep this country from being more miserable than any ever was ; and in country all is included, oneself, wife, children, friends, and every thing that is dear. I have no more ambition than a stock or a stone. I never was very covetous, and I have no spleen against any creature living, but those that I think would hurt the government ; and I have now the same zealous and warm concern for the queen, you have seen in me for the poor king that is gone. This being all true, I think it is not likely we should differ much in opinion ; for when the desires and the wills are the same, and not biassed by some unruly passion,

understandings must always agree. If you will reflect back since we were acquainted, you cannot but know that I have ever had great inclination and esteem for you, which, added to the rest, must for ever make me desirous to live kindly and easily with you, from which I shall never change. All I wish is to die quietly, with the hopes that my country may not be miserable, which I shall do, if the queen governs as she says, which I do not doubt, because she says it; and because, if she departs from it, or slackens only for three months, she, her people, and her servants, will be for ever and unavoidably undone. She is now in the king's place; her interest is the same as his was. She may soon gain a confidence both abroad and at home, without which nothing can be done; and once more, if she acts as she speaks, she will be safe, happy, and adored. All I have writ is exactly true, which I think you will believe, because you never yet were deceived by me. I sent yesterday a letter for you to my lord Spencer, who, I suppose, has delivered it to you. I am, &c."

At the instance of Marlborough, and his lady, the queen consigned the management of the finances to lord Godolphin, with the title and privileges of lord high treasurer.

The principles of Marlborough, and his friend and coadjutor Godolphin, indirectly influenced the character of the administration formed under their auspices. As they were both moderate tories, and as the whig partialities of the countess were either not yet developed, or not allowed to operate, the queen was left to consult her own

private inclinations, and private antipathies in the choice of a ministry, from which the whigs were mostly excluded.

The earl of Nottingham, one of the tory chiefs, was appointed secretary of state, in the room of the duke of Manchester, and he was even permitted to restore his dependent, Sir Charles Hedges, to office, in the place of Mr. Vernon. Lord Rochester, uncle to the queen, and the most ardent of the same party, continued lord lieutenant of Ireland, and was suffered to take an active share in the management of domestic affairs. The duke of Somerset was succeeded in the high office of lord president by the earl of Pembroke, whose conduct was not marked by any party attachment. The earl of Bradford was made treasurer of the household. John marquis of Normandy, afterwards duke of Buckingham, received the privy seal; and the earl of Jersy still retained the post of lord chamberlain. The comptroller's staff was transferred from lord Wharton, a zealous whig, to Sir Edward Seymour. Mr. Howe, who had personally insulted the deceased king, in his parliamentary career, was made one of the joint paymasters of guards and garrisons; and Sir John Leveson Gower chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Sir Nathan Wright retained the post of lord keeper; and the offices of solicitor and attorney general were conferred on Mr. Harcourt and Mr. Northey. Most of the subordinate posts were also filled by tories. Indeed the only whigs who occupied stations of consequence, were the duke of Devonshire, lord

high steward, and Mr. Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer. Even the privy council was purged of the obnoxious party; for the names of the distinguished whig leaders, Halifax, Somers, and Orford, found no place in the list announced by the new sovereign.

The political principles of prince George being perfectly in unison with those of his consort, the commission or council by which he was assisted, as lord high admiral, was filled by persons of congenial character. The vice-admiral of England, and president of the commission, was Sir George Rook, who had indulged his aversion to the whigs, even in the disposal of naval offices. Another member was George Churchill, brother to Marlborough, who is represented by the countess as an inveterate jacobite.

Marlborough was mindful of his former friendship with the duke of Shrewsbury. Although that nobleman was absent at Rome, he prevailed on the queen to offer him the post of master of the horse. As he declined the employment, under the plea of ill health, it was conferred on the duke of Somerset, a nobleman who possessed great family interest, but was too little distinguished either for talents or party zeal, to fall under the dislike which the queen fostered against the rest of the whigs.

Not satisfied with monopolising the higher posts of the state and the law, the tories were anxious to exclude their political antagonists even from the subordinate office of justice of the peace. In this view, however, they were thwarted by the mo-

derate counsels of Marlborough and Godolphin, who would not suffer them to indulge their party antipathies to the full extent. Even this petty diversity of opinion, on a matter of such trifling importance, became afterwards a germ of dispute, and the consequent disputes were inflamed by the interference of Rochester, who was disappointed because he had not himself been placed at the head of the treasury.

As Anne was deeply imbued with the prejudices of the tories against foreign connections, and as the natural timidity of her sex inclined her to peace, nothing but the dangers which encompassed her throne, could have urged her to adopt the same vigorous policy, and the same hostility against France, which had marked the reign of her predecessor. Indeed her situation admitted neither deliberation nor delay. The power of Louis, which had been rapidly augmented by a long and successful career of violence, craft, and usurpation, had now attained its utmost height. The occupation of the towns and countries on the Upper Rhine, opened the way for the invasion of Southern Germany; while the vast preponderance which he had acquired by placing his grandson on the spanish throne, with the possession of the Netherlands, the Milanese, and other dependencies, rendered him the arbiter of Europe.

The dutch, who yet trembled at the recollection of the recent invasion, and who had purchased the liberation of their captive troops, by acknowledging Philip, had no hope of preserving their independence but by the succour and support of England.

The emperor, notwithstanding the temporary success of his arms in Italy, was embarrassed by the rising rebellion in Hungary; and found himself engaged in a contest, manifestly unequal, and apparently hopeless, unless he was aided by the maritime powers. The duke of Savoy, hemmed in by the territories of the Bourbon princes, was reduced to a state of vassalage under France, and could entertain no hope of deliverance, unless Austria was enabled to extend its acquisitions in Italy.

Such being the circumstances of those powers, whose position or military force might enable them to make head against the aggressions of France, there seemed little prospect that the states of the continent would succeed in repelling the common danger. It was obvious that if Louis could even for a short period attach the dutch to his interest, or render them passive, and paralize Austria, he would profit by his vast resources and commanding attitude, to restore the dependent family of Stuart to the british throne, and thus secure the only country which could arrest his career of ambition. Indeed he had given an early proof that such was his intention, by declining to acknowledge the title of the queen.

The death of William consequently spread the utmost consternation among all the continental powers, particularly among the dutch, who were alternately cajoled and threatened by France, in order to detach them from the grand alliance, and and break the only link which connected England with the continent. Their suspense and alarm

were, however, speedily dissipated. Anne had scarcely ascended the throne, before she dispatched a letter to the states, through her envoy Mr. Stanhope, announcing her intention to maintain the alliances concluded by the late monarch. This letter was immediately circulated through the provinces, and received with general exultation.

To give additional solemnity to this declaration, the earl of Marlborough was deputed to Holland, as embassador extraordinary. He reached the Hague on the 28th of March, and his presence called forth a new transport of joy. He consoled the states for the loss of their beloved chief, assured them of a vigorous support on the part of of the british government, and obtained in return a promise of their most zealous exertions. He agreed with the heads of the republic and the imperial minister, that war should be declared on the same day at London, the Hague, and Vienna. A plan of operations was also arranged under his direction; and the campaign was even opened, during his stay, by the siege of Kayserswerth, a strong fortress on the Lower Rhine, in the electorate of Cologne, which had been occupied by a french garrison in the preceding year.

Finally, to secure that unity of action, which cannot be obtained under divided authority, he endeavoured to persuade the states to confer on the prince of Denmark the chief command of their forces, a post which was coveted by the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, the duke of Zell, and the archduke Charles.* The dutch,

* The earl of Marlborough to lord Godolphin, March 31. 1702.

however, declined this proposal, not only because they placed no confidence in the military talents of the prince, but because they feared he would resist the control of the field deputies, whom they sent to the army, to inspect and regulate the conduct of their generals. No instances were spared to overcome their objections. The queen, anxious to gratify the prince, made the most urgent representations, through the channel of the dutch embassador; and Marlborough was even authorized to announce that unless the prince was appointed to the command, she would not issue the declaration of war against France.* Nothing, however, could vanquish the firmness of the dutch government; and Marlborough left this question in suspense, hoping that in his absence some expedient might be found to obviate the difficulty.

After remaining a few days at the Hague, he returned to England, to take a share in the great struggle of parties, which was expected to arise on the question of peace or war. He reached London on the 26th of March.

The tories having promised the queen to support the protestant succession, and consequently to give their aid in prosecuting the war against France, this resolution was announced as well in the speech from the throne, as in the addresses from both houses of parliament. But deeming themselves established in power, Rochester and the more violent of the party recurred to their favourite maxims of policy, and their aversion to

* Cunningham, vol. i. p. 264.

vigorous measures was obviously strengthened by the opposition made to their attempt for engrossing all the authority of the state. They could not indeed, so far belie the pledge they had given, as to oppose the war directly; but in a privy council held to deliberate on the declaration of hostilities against France and Spain, Rochester earnestly deprecated a measure, which would implicate England as a principal, and as strongly recommended the temporising and inefficient expedient of engaging in the contest, only as an auxiliary.

This impolitic advice was ably combated by Marlborough. He contended that to desert the alliances concluded by the late king, would dishonour the nation; and that nothing but the whole power of England, joined with that of the continental states, would suffice to secure the public independence. He urged that on an active co-operation in the war, depended not only the general tranquillity, but the safety of the protestant succession, and the consequent welfare of England. Adverting to the arrangements recently made with the dutch, and to the solemn promises of support, which he had himself conveyed from the queen, he argued that the slightest hesitation in her majesty to act as became her own honour and interest, would alienate the powers with whom she was united, and terminate in the dissolution of the grand alliance. The advice was seconded by the earl of Pembroke, and the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire. It even found supporters in Nottingham and his moderate friends, and the

timid and impolitic counsels of Rochester were overruled.*

This political dissonance produced a temporary schism in the tory party, and occasioned a coldness, which eventually led to a breach in the long friendship between Rochester and Marlborough. Rochester indeed did not content himself with this opposition in the cabinet, but even secretly thwarted the grand schemes which Marlborough had planned; and in the correspondence of this year, we find frequent complaints of his overbearing temper and private machinations.

The parliament was already assembled, before the return of Marlborough to England, and the requisite measures were promptly adopted, for supporting the protestant succession, and prosecuting the war. The oath of abjuration was taken by the members of both houses, and the name of the princess Sophia was introduced in the public prayers for the royal family, as next in succession to the throne. Within a few days the conventions which Marlborough had concluded at the Hague, for the supply of auxiliary troops, and the operations of the campaign, were sanctioned by parliament; and on the 4th of May, in conformity with the promise to the states and Austria, a declaration of hostilities was issued against France and Spain.

Meanwhile the administration had been reduced to more consistency, by the admission of several tories into the subordinate departments; and among others we see the names of lords Dart-

* Lediard, vol. i. p. 149. — Boyer's Queen Anne, p. 14. — Tindal.

mouth and Weymouth, as members of the board of trade.

It cannot be supposed that these changes could take place without exciting new party jealousies, and drawing additional odium on Marlborough and Godolphin. Indeed, considering the obstacles which Marlborough had encountered, from the prejudices and monopolising spirit of his own party, it is not improbable that in giving them such an accession of strength, he was swayed by the private inclinations of the queen. But whatever was the cause, his embarrassments on this point were not confined to his public capacity; for even in his domestic circle, he frequently experienced the utmost vexation, from the captious temper and political bias of his consort.

With a native frankness of character, and a spirit too domineering to consult the opinions even of those she loved and esteemed, the countess had imbibed an early partiality to the whig party and principles, which was strengthened by the marriage of her daughter with lord Spencer. Before the accession of Anne, no incident had occurred to create a collision of sentiment between the princess and her favourite, notwithstanding their discordance on political questions; or rather their common antipathy to William absorbed every other consideration. But immediately after that event a change occurred; and in the petty bickerings which arose *, Marlborough and Godolphin were

* Swift observes, that the alienation of the queen from the duchess of Marlborough commenced at her accession. This opinion, which is

often involved, either because they supported the opinions of their royal mistress, or endeavoured to restrain the antipathies and partialities of the countess. To this subject it is here sufficient to advert, merely to mark the commencement of a dispute, which afterwards rose to so great a height, and operated with so fatal an effect.

Another source of domestic embarrassment was derived from the conduct and principles of his brother George Churchill. Availing himself of his influence with the prince of Denmark, he arrogated a degree of superiority at the naval board, to which he was not entitled; and in particular endeavoured to obtain precedence over his colleague Sir David Mitchell. He was compelled to recede, by the remonstrances of his brother; but his high tory

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correct, he evidently formed from the information of Mrs. Masham and Mr. Harley.

The duchess herself, in her Conduct, has so far overrated her influence, as to assume the merit of having procured the nomination of the principal whig ministers, after the queen's accession, and her assertions have been implicitly adopted by those writers who are not acquainted with the secret history of the times. The fact is, that on points of minor consideration, the recommendation of the favourite was often attended with effect, but in the great arrangements of state she had no real interest. She felt and even resented this mortification, though in vain; and she has made it a subject of complaint in one of her manuscript narratives. A tory administration was formed in spite of her remonstrances; and from this cause, as well as from this period, of time, we trace a series of incessant bickerings with the queen. The discrimination invariably made by Anne between the two parties, who were contending for power, furnished an inexhaustible source of controversy; and this discordance of sentiment, though trifling in its origin, increased in vehemence on every subsequent change, till it ended in open and irreconcilable enmity.

partialities afterwards proved a perpetual source of contention.

Military operations having already commenced on the dutch frontier, Marlborough, accompanied by his countess, departed on the 12th of May to Margate, where a vessel was waiting to convey him to the opposite shore. While he was detained by a contrary wind, the queen continued her usual intimate correspondence with lady Marlborough. During this short interval, we find more than one letter, indicating her kindness and regard, and describing the petty incidents which occurred at court.

A letter from the countess to lord Godolphin, written during this temporary absence, will show the tone which she had already begun to assume in political transactions, her inveterate hostility to the tories, and the opposition which she made, as well to the queen's partialities, as to the arrangements of her husband and the treasurer.

"*Margate, Tuesday, the 29th of May.*

"Since you have been so kind as to write so long a letter for my satisfaction, I hope it will hold out to read my answer, though I know my opinion is very insignificant upon most occasions. In the first place, I will begin without any compliment, and say that if any thing could give me a worse thought of the meetings of those gentlemen (the tories) than I had before, it would be their desire to turn any man out of an employment to put in my lord Sandwich. This looks to me as if every thing were to be governed by faction and

nonsense; and 'tis no matter what look things have in the world, or what men are made use of, if they are but such creatures as will, right or wrong, be at the disposal of two or three arbitrary men that are at the head of them. How long they will be able to support that way of government I can't tell; but if they are strong enough to go on with it, I am apt to think it will not end in hardships only to the lords lieutenants of England.

" My lord Lexington having a mind to quit his employment, shows he thinks it is better for him to depend upon the whig party, considering his behaviour to the queen and prince formerly; for I am sure self-interest is his first consideration, and I do not think him very wrong in that choice. At least if I had any power to dispose of places, the first rule should be to have those that were proper for the business; the next those that had deserved upon any occasion; and whenever there was room without hurting the public, I think one would with pleasure give employments to those that were in so unhappy a condition as to want them. Whether any of these reasons will serve for my lord Weymouth I am in some doubt; but I am sure he is one that will make a noise, and give dissatisfaction to many that I believe wish well, and could be useful to the government.

" But that which is the greatest trouble to me is yet to answer, that is, what you say concerning the dispute between my brother George and Sir David Mitchell, whom I do not know, but I think

I have heard a great character of him; and I have no sort of patience to think that a brother of lord Marlborough should put the least difficulty, or stop to any thing that is for the queen's service and the good of the country, for any senseless pretension or interest of his own, which, without knowing any thing of the particulars, I am inclined to believe he has no just right to, and certainly he should not make use of the queen's favour but to serve her in the first place."

The impatience of Marlborough to depart for the scene of action was finally gratified; the wind, which had for several days been contrary, changing to a favourable quarter. At this moment, the prospect of a long separation from the tenderest connections, and the anxieties attending his important commission, threw a gloom over his mind, and he saw the signal for departure with the keenest anguish. No lover ever quitted an adored mistress with more poignant sorrow, than he felt on taking leave of his countess. His agitation overcame him, and he hurried on board to hide the agony of his mind, and indulge his grief. A hasty note which he wrote to her on this occasion, presents an interesting picture of his affection.

" *Wednesday morning, May* 15–26.

" It is impossible to express with what a heavy heart I parted with you when I was by the water's side. I could have given my life to have come back, though I knew my own weakness so much that I durst not, for I knew I should have exposed myself to the company. I did for a great while,

with a perspective glass, look upon the cliffs, in hopes I might have had one sight of you. We are now out of sight of Margate, and I have neither soul nor spirits, but I do at this minute suffer so much that nothing but being with you can recompense it. If you will be sensible of what I now feel, you will endeavour ever to be easy to me, and then I shall be most happy; for it is you only that can give me true content. I pray God to make you and yours happy; and if I could contribute any thing to it with the utmost hazard of my life, I should be glad to do it."

Another letter, written during his stay at the Hague, deserves peculiar notice. It shows that ardent affection for his wife which shines in all his correspondence, while it exhibits, like the others, an early proof of those petty bickerings which arose from their discordance in political opinion. His indulgent character and natural mildness are also proved by the complacency with which he takes on himself the blame of irritability of temper.

" *Hague, May* 29. — We have very ill news from Italy, which makes me very uneasy till I get to the army, fearing that might encourage the french to attempt in these countries. But till I have finished this convention with Hanover, for the 10,000 men, I shall not be able to stir from hence. * * * * * * *

" Notwithstanding my being so ill at sea, I thank God my health is much better than when I left you.

" I am extreme uneasy at what you have writ me concerning lord Nottingham's letter. But you

might plainly see there was no thought of turning Mr. Palm out. I do assure you, upon my soul, I had much rather the whole world should go wrong than you should be uneasy; for the quiet of my life depends only upon your kindness, and I beg you to believe that you are dearer to me than all things in this world. My temper may make you and myself sometimes uneasy; but when I am alone, and I find you kind, if you knew the true quiet I have in my mind, you would then be convinced of my being entirely yours, and that it is in no other power in this world to make me happy but yourself."

CHAPTER II.

1702.

Return of Marlborough to the Hague.—Difficulties respecting the appointment of a generalissimo, finally terminated in his favour.—State of the confederacy.—Situation of the armies.—Attempt of the french to surprise Nimeguen.—Marlborough repairs to the army.—Obstacles and delays arising from the timidity of the dutch government, and hesitation of their generals.—Passage of the Waal.—Camp at Over-Asselt.

Returning to the Hague, Marlborough again laboured to obtain the nomination of the prince of Denmark to the chief command. But fortunately for the honour of England, and the welfare of Europe, his instances were fruitless; and as the preliminary arrangements for the campaign were all matured, he acquiesced in the exclusion of the prince.

Other obstacles, however, arose from the pretensions of the prince of Nassau Saarbruck and the earl of Athlone; the first a prince of the empire; the last a general of great experience and high reputation, and as a native of Holland, warmly supported by such of his countrymen as were jealous of foreign influence, or averse to the extensive system of operation proposed by Marlborough.

At length these obstacles were overcome, by the patriotic exertions of pensionary Heinsius, and the party attached to England. The prince and Athlone generously withdrew their pretensions, and Marlborough was raised to the important office, with a salary of £10,000 a year.

Although his efforts in favour of the prince of Denmark, were as sincere as they were fruitless, the prince, who was anxious to signalize himself in a military capacity, was highly chagrined at his exclusion, and suspected that his pretensions had not been supported with sufficient zeal and perseverance. His displeasure was inflamed by the malicious insinuations of Plessen, the danish envoy, who possessed a great share of his confidence. Hence we observe several passages in the correspondence of Marlborough, indicating the vexation he underwent from this cause, and the difficulty he experienced, in allaying the ill-founded suspicions, and pacifying the disappointed ambition of the prince.

After a short stay at the Hague, he hastened to Nimeguen, to assume the command, and give vigour to the military system.

Meanwhile negotiations had been continued in Germany, and many of the states were drawn into a cordial support of the grand alliance. The emperor gained Frederic, elector of Brandenburg, by acknowledging him as king of Prussia; and the queen, at the suggestion of Marlborough, still farther gratified a prince, whose ruling passion was vanity, by promising to grant him the ceremonial enjoyed by other crowned heads.

The members of the house of Brunswic Luneburg were lured by the prospect of succeeding to the british throne. Ten thousand of their troops were in march for the scene of action, even before the subsidiary convention, which Marlborough had concluded, was formally signed. They even compelled the neighbouring princes of Saxe-Gotha and Wolfenbuttel to renounce their connection with the king of France, and to withhold a levy of 12,000 men, who had been raised for his service.

Philip William, elector palatine, whose influence was considerable in the circles of the Rhine, was also engaged in the grand alliance. He was connected with the austrian family, by the marriage of his sister with the emperor Leopold, and he fostered an hereditary antipathy to the french, for their former devastations of the palatinate, which was farther inflamed by a contest with the house of Orleans, relative to some allodial property derived from Charles*, the last elector, who died without issue. He therefore eagerly acceded to a confederacy, which was likely both to gratify his enmity against France, and his hopes of territorial acquisition. He not only supplied his contingent as a prince of the empire, but engaged to furnish the maritime powers with a considerable body of subsidiary troops.

The minor princes and states were borne away by the example of the greater; even the electors

* Charlotte Elizabeth, duchess of Orleans, was sister of Charles, elector palatine, the last of the branch of Simmeren, who died in 1685, and was succeeded by his distant relative Philip William, duke of Neuburgh.

of Cologne and Bavaria, the devoted partisans of France, testified their intention to observe a neutrality. On the same day, therefore, in which the emperor denounced hostilities against the bourbon princes, as sovereign of Austria, the German diet issued a similar declaration, and engaged to supply the usual contingents of troops.

The plan of operations was formed, according to the proportions of force, which were to be respectively furnished by the different members of the alliance. A german army under Louis, margrave of Baden, was to be collected on the Upper Rhine. A second body, composed of prussians, palatines, and dutch, and amounting to 25,000 men, under the prince of Saarbruck, was occupied in besieging Kayserswerth. The principal army had also assembled in the vicinity of Cleves, under the command of Athlone, to cover that part of the frontier, which stretches from the Rhine to the Meuse, and to favour the operations of the prince of Saarbruck. A fourth body of 10,000 men, under the command of Cohorn, the celebrated engineer, was also collected near the mouth of the Scheld, to secure that quarter, and threaten the district of Bruges.

The preparations and movements of the enemy indicated the most vigorous operations on the side of Holland. On one hand, a force under count de la Motte, and the marquis of Bedmar, who commanded in the name of Philip, covered the western frontier of the Netherlands against the aggressions of Cohorn. On the other, marshal Tallard was detached from the Upper Rhine, with

a corps of observation, amounting to 13,000 men, to interrupt the siege of Kayserswerth. But the principal and most numerous army was assembled on the Meuse, and possessed essential advantages, by the occupation of the fortresses in the bishopric of Liege. The duke of Burgundy, assisted by marshal Boufflers, was appointed to the command.

As it was evident that the presence of a french prince would be signalised by some decisive exploit, the earl of Athlone had thrown a garrison of 12,000 men into Maestricht, and taken post at Cranenburg, in the vicinity of Cleves; while the enemy advanced to Xanten, where the duke of Burgundy joined them in the beginning of * May. While Marlborough was employed in settling with the ministers of the states the plan of the campaign, the french made an effort, which threatened to frustrate his grand designs, and confine his operations to the defence of the dutch frontier. The army of the duke of Burgundy being joined by that of Tallard, suddenly pushed toward the Waal, with the view of surprising Nimeguen, which was without a garrison, and even without a single cannon mounted on the ramparts. The place was saved by the vigorous resistance of the burghers, and the rapid march of Athlone, who entered at the very moment when the enemy had advanced within gunshot of the works. The joy which this deliverance awakened in the dutch, was succeeded by equal consternation, at the danger

* Memoires de Berwick, t. i. p. 174-5.

they had escaped, and the peril which still threatened their frontier. Marlborough, therefore, found it no easy task to vanquish the reluctance of the government to undertake offensive operations, which might expose them to new hazards. He laboured, however, to digest a plan which might at once calm their fears, and further his own views for a distant and efficient effort. Three proposals were submitted to the consideration of the States. One, to attack the army of the duke of Burgundy, in a position which it had recently occupied between Goch and Genep, on the right bank of the Meuse; the second, after leaving a corps at Nimeguen, sufficient for the protection of the frontier, to advance up the Rhine, with the view of interrupting the communications of the enemy, and laying the foundation of an offensive system by the reduction of Rheinberg. The third, which appears to have been suggested by Marlborough himself, was to leave a corps of observation at Nimeguen; to cross the Meuse; and, by an offensive movement towards Brabant, to divert the whole force and attention of the enemy to the spanish Netherlands.* No resolution was to be taken on these different plans, till Marlborough had assumed the command, and the strength of the respective armies could be ascertained.

Having matured his arrangements, he quitted the Hague on the 2d of July, and repaired to

* Several plans and reports, still extant in the Marlborough Papers, prove the anxiety and circumspection with which the operations of the campaign were arranged.

the army, which since the recent enterprise of Boufflers, had been posted along the Waal, between Nimeguen and Fort Schenk.

The acquiescence of Athlone and the prince of Saarbruck, in his appointment to the supreme command, was far from obviating all the difficulties incident to his situation. Instead of the advantages which king William derived from his exalted rank, and authority as stadtholder, Marlborough, as a subject, was exposed to rivalry, and reduced to depend on his own personal interest. His means of directing or influencing the factions in the dutch republic, depended chiefly on the credit of Heinsius, and the other partisans of the war, who themselves shrunk from responsibility. At the army he was subjected to the control of the field deputies, who though vested with great powers, were yet ignorant of military affairs; and consequently were either led by the opinions of their own generals, or wasted the most decisive moments in fruitless deliberation, and in soliciting instructions from the Hague. Among the generals he found also more rivals than coadjutors. By them he was often thwarted, from personal jealousy or prejudice: and at the time when vigour and promptitude were necessary, he found them as timid and indecisive as the deputies. From Athlone, in particular, he experienced constant opposition, though cloaked with the affectation of deference. Indeed it would have been difficult to unite two commanders more discordant in character: Marlborough active, enterprising, and decisive; Athlone naturally cold and circumspect, and

rendered still more unaccommodating and captious, by the effects of age and jealousy. From these observations, it will be easy to conceive the embarrassments which the generalissimo was destined to encounter, the mortifications he endured, the obstructions against which he sometimes struggled in vain, and the frequent and favourable opportunities of which he was unable to profit.

Kayserswerth having surrendered on the 15th of June, Marlborough drew to the Waal the 8000 german auxiliaries employed in the siege, summoned the english from Breda, collected reinforcements from other quarters, and in the course of a few days was at the head of 60,000 men. It was now necessary to decide on the plan of operations; and Marlborough was extremely anxious to cross the Meuse, and make his intended movement towards Brabant. * He had even fixed on the 8th of July, as the day of the passage; but he was unable to obtain the concurrence of the dutch generals, or indeed to extort from them an unanimous resolution on any of the proposed plans. He was therefore obliged to hold a council of war, in order to examine the three projects of operation. The proposed attack of the french army was immediately rejected, on account of their strong position. The operation on the Rhine was referred to the decision of the States; and on the irruption into Brabant, no resolution was taken. A new council was therefore assembled by Athlone, in the afternoon, for the purpose of obtaining the

* Letter from Gueldermassen, one of the field deputies.

opinions of such generals as had been absent in the morning. The question being put, whether a corps of 24 battalions and as many squadrons, to be left on the Waal, under the command of the baron de Heyden, was sufficient for the protection of the frontier, the majority decided in the affirmative, a few expressing their apprehensions, and one declining to give an opinion, as unacquainted with the country. * This diversity of sentiment induced Athlone to appeal to the government for instructions, while Marlborough dispatched Gueldermassen to the Hague, to press the adoption of one of the two plans, which had not been absolutely rejected. From his correspondence, we find that he remained several days in this irksome uncertainty, and thus irretrievably lost a portion of valuable time.

While Marlborough was combating the timid objections of the dutch government, and the scruples of their generals, he was involved in one of the difficulties, which are incident to a command over troops of different nations. At the moment when he had extorted the sanction of the States, the hanoverian general arrived at the camp, to announce that his men could not march without the orders of Bothmar, the minister at the Hague. This unexpected suspense was peculiarly mortifying; for without them the army was too weak to make the intended movement. Marlborough accordingly summoned Bothmar to the camp, and at length obtained his consent for the junction of the

* Lettre officielle de Nimegue.

hanoverian forces. In the interval he laboured to procure some modification of the demands on which the refusal was grounded: these were, that the troops should not take the oath to the queen; that they should return before the 5th of November; and finally that they should not be led across the Meuse. "The two first," he observes in a letter to Godolphin, dated June 29, "are not worth disputing; for they assure me it shall be in my power to keep them; but I think we were almost as good to be without them as to agree to the last. Our misfortune is, that if we have not these troops, we shall not have strength to act. By these difficulties you may see the great disadvantages a confederate army has."

The hanoverians having at length joined the army, the matter was referred to the elector, and no farther objection occurred during the campaign.

A similar difficulty arose with regard to the prussians; but Marlborough satisfied the king, by renewing the engagement that the queen should allow him the ceremonial, usually enjoyed by crowned heads.

After a delay of fourteen days, he obtained permission to make a movement in advance; and the army accordingly traversed the Waal, on the 7th of July, and encamped on the Mookerheyde, the head quarters being established at * Duckenburg. Three bridges were the same day thrown over the Meuse below Grave, and the commander crossed

* A country seat belonging to the counts of Schulemberg, S.W. of Nimeguen.

the river to reconnoitre the ground beyond. In a letter to Godolphin, dated Duckenburg, July 13, he says:—

"I am ashamed to write from this camp, for we ought to have marched from hence three or four days ago; but the fears the dutch have for Nimeguen and the Rhine, created such difficulties when we were to take a resolution, that we were forced to send to the Hague, and the States would not come to any resolution, but have made it more difficult, by leaving it to the general officers, at the same time recommending, in the first place, the safety of the Rhine and Nimeguen. However, we came last night to a resolution of marching to-morrow, and passing the Meuse a little below Grave. Accordingly we have this day made three bridges over the said river. The intention is, that we should keep ourselves masters of those bridges, and that as soon as the battering pieces can be got to Nimeguen, which we hope may be in eight days, then to pass the Meuse, and march to the siege of Rheinberg. The reason of our passing the Meuse to-morrow is, in hopes it may in some degree alarm the french, and hinder us from eating up that part of the country, which must be our subsistence during the siege. It is hoped this might be a secret, but I am afraid they have too good intelligence, and then they may act so as that we may be obliged to take new measures. If the fear of Nimeguen and the Rhine had not hindered us from marching into Brabant, they must then have had the disadvantage of governing

themselves by our motions, whereas we are now obliged to mind them.

" I am obliged to you for the compliment you make me for the station I am now in. It would have been a great deal more agreeable to me, if it could have been without disputes, and a little less trouble; but patience will overcome all things."

Having surveyed the ground beyond the Meuse, Marlborough returned to the camp, and on the 16th the army was posted between Homen and Wichem, with the Meuse in the rear, and the head quarters at Over-Asselt, within two leagues of the enemy, who still retained their position at Goch and Genep. Here he remained several days in the same state of uncertainty, as we find from his correspondence.

To his countess he writes, July 17:—

" We have now very hot weather, which I hope will ripen the fruit at St. Alban's. When you are there, pray think how happy I should be walking alone with you. No ambition can make me amends for being from you. If it were not impertinent, I should desire you in every letter to give my humble duty to the queen, for I do serve her with all my heart and soul. I am on horseback or answering letters all day long; for besides the business of the army, I have letters from the Hague, and all places where her majesty has any ministers. So that if it were not for my zeal for her service, I should certainly desert, for you know of all things I do not love writing."

To lord Godolphin, July 20:—

" I am afraid of giving you any trouble, know-

ing you have but little time to yourself. However, I cannot forbear sending you a copy of a letter I received last night from Gueldermassen, who went to the Hague to hasten every thing for the siege of Rheinberg, which by his letter I am afraid will not be made. And should we follow what he thinks to be best, I think the french may have it in their power to beat us. But to comply as far as I can, I have this night proposed to them the leaving twenty squadrons of horse, and eighteen battalions of foot, to entrench themselves before Nimeguen, and to pass the Meuse with the rest of the army, or to march with the whole towards Cleves, in order to get between Venloo and the french, if possible, so as to be able to attack them. The fear the States have of Nimeguen and the passage of the Rhine, hinders the advantage of having the superiority."

CHAPTER 12.

1702.

Marlborough crosses the Meuse and advances to Hamont.—Movements of the two armies.—The dutch deputies oppose the wishes of Marlborough to attack the enemy.—Attempt of the french to intercept his communications.—Frustrated.—Again prevented from risking a battle.—Indignation and disappointment of the army.—Capture of Venloo, Ruremond and Stevenswaert.—Reduction of Liege.—Winter quarters.

At length Marlborough soothed the fears of the dutch government, and obtained full powers to execute his own plan. To the dutch deputies who attended him on a reconnoitring party, he pointed out the camp of the enemy, and exultingly exclaimed, "I shall soon deliver you from these troublesome neighbours!" Accordingly the confederate army crossed the Meuse on the 26th of July, and encamped with the right at Uden and the left at Zeeland. On the 27th they again advanced, establishing their right near Numen and their left at Leyshout; the 28th they were posted between Geldorp and Mierle, and on the 30th approached Hamont.

These decisive operations, as Marlborough had predicted, drew the french from their position. On the first intelligence that he had crossed the Meuse,

they suddenly decamped in the evening, traversed the river in several columns at Venloo and Ruremond, and hastened by forced marches in the direction of Peer and Bray.

Apprized of these movements, Marlborough announced to Godolphin his design of crossing the line of their march, and endeavouring to place himself between them and the Demer. He expressed also the fullest persuasion that he should draw them entirely from the Meuse, and not only be enabled to besiege Venloo, but to subsist in their territory, during the remainder of the campaign. He adds, "Our marches have already had the desired effect, which was, their repassing the Meuse, which had we done sooner, would have been much better. If they would venture any thing this summer, it ought to be this day; for our march is upon an open heath, and we are weaker by sixteen regiments of foot than we shall be three days hence. I am just getting on horseback to begin the march. My letter is dated from the place where we are to camp this night. The french are nearer to it than we, but I do not think they will venture. But by this march they must own that we do not avoid meeting them." *

At Hamont Marlborough was joined by three english regiments of dragoons, with the train of artillery, and two battalions of Swiss. On the 31st a new reinforcement of nine battalions and six squadrons arrived from Nimeguen, being part of the corps left under general Heukelom for the de-

* Camp near Hamont, July 19–30. 1702.

fence of the frontier. The same day Marlborough extended his right to St. Hubert's Lill, where he established his head quarters. He had scarcely entered his new position, before reports arrived that the enemy were again in motion. With his characteristic vigilance, he instantly mounted his horse, and spent twelve hours in reconnoitring the ground, and obtaining intelligence of their march. While he remained in this position, the castle of Gravenbrock, which was held by a small french garrison, was compelled to surrender by a detachment under lord Cutts. His correspondence shews the eagerness with which he watched for an opportunity of bringing the enemy to an engagement.

" I believe," he observes, " the enemy will not encamp where they are, which is not far from Bray, but will this night march on towards the Demer; for though count Tallard has joined them, I believe they will not care to venture, at least till they have the troops which are with M. Bedmar, and even then I question whether they will be stronger than we, for in two or three days it will be in our power to draw out eight regiments of foot and five squadrons of horse, from Maestricht. Four deserters are just come in, that assure me the french army will encamp this night at Bray. If it be true, we shall be moving to-morrow morning early. I have several parties out, so that some will bring news. I thought I should not have been able to have writ so much, my head aching extremely. The minute I seal this I shall go to bed." *

* To lord Godolphin, camp of St. Hubert's Lill, July 20-31. 1702.

On the 2d of August Marlborough again prolonged his march, by bringing his left to St. Hubert's Lill, and stretching his right to Little Bruegel, where he established his head quarters. At the same time the enemy continued their hasty progress, and took post between Peer and Bray. As Marlborough calculated that they would direct their march through Sonhoven to Beringhen, he proposed to attack them, either in their passage over the heaths beyond Bray, or in their camp at Sonhoven, which was so ill chosen as to render defeat inevitable.* But according to the information of Berwick, who was present, they were saved by the timidity of the dutch deputies, who refused their assent. Thus favoured, the french succeeded in reaching Beringhen unmolested, on the 5th of August, and the same day the confederate army established itself in the rear of Peer, with the right on the Dommel and the left at Erlicum.

Marlborough had thus compelled the enemy to abandon the course of the Meuse, and leave him at liberty to prosecute his designs against the fortresses on that river. While preparations were making for the siege of Venloo, he employed detachments to destroy the fortifications of Peer and Bray, which lay in the line of his communications.

* " Monsieur de Marlborough proposa de marcher à nous, en passant le defilé de Peer, moyennant quoi la battaille étoit inévitable sur les bruyeres; mais les députés des etats généraux, n'y voulurent jamais consentir, non plus qu'à nous attaquer dans notre camp de Sonoven; ce qui fut heureux pour nous, car nous étions postés de manière que nous aurions été battus sans pouvoir nous remuer, notre gauche étant en l'air, et notre droite enfoncée dans un cul-de-sac entre deux ruisseaux." Memoires de Berwick, t. i. p. 187.

Here he was joined by ten battalions, and several squadrons, with a small train of artillery, from Maestricht, the garrison of which was disengaged by his advance.

With a view to ulterior operations, he prepared to pass the Dommel; but the french commanders, for the purpose of threatening his communications, broke up from Beringhen on the 9th, and marching by Moll and Bergueick to Rythoven, detached Berwick on the 12th to Eyndhoven, to cut off a valuable convoy which had been long expected from Bois le Duc. This movement obliged Marlborough to make a retrograde march on the 12th to Everbeek*, from whence he detached a strong corps, under count Tilly, for the protection of the convoy. Here he remained several days in great anxiety, and his letters are filled with complaints of the want of concert among his subordinate officers, the obstacles raised to his designs, and the tardiness of the preparations for the siege of Venloo. As the movement of the enemy had prevented the attack on Weert, a second detachment was now charged with its reduction, and a body of ten battalions and seven squadrons was sent to commence operations against Venloo. Arrangements were also made to draw the supply of bread for the army from Maestricht. †

At length the convoy, which had engrossed the attention of both armies, arrived from Bois le Duc. It traversed the heath near Geldorp, within sight of the french detachment; and although the ne-

* A castle about two english miles north of Hamont.

† Correspondence from Everbeek, August 3–14. to August 10–17. 1702.

cessary precautions appear to have been neglected, by the officers to whose care it was committed, the french commander was deterred by the main army from making any attempt to interrupt its * march. It therefore proceeded behind the line of the Aa, halted on the 19th at Leen, or Linden, and on the 20th reached the camp in safety.

As the preparations for the siege of Venloo were not yet matured, Marlborough resolved to march towards Diest, with the view of interrupting the convoys of the enemy, or compelling them to withdraw from the district of Bois le Duc. He therefore advanced on the 22d to Great Bruegel, and the following day established his camp, with the right in front of Helchteren, and the left of Honthalen. This movement alarmed the french commanders; but they appear to have been unacquainted with his precise line of march, for he had scarcely taken up his ground before their army was descried emerging from the defiles before Hochtel. The disorder visible among their columns, particularly on the left, which was entangled amidst ponds and marshes, afforded the opportunity so long desired by Marlborough of risking an engagement. He instantly put his own troops in motion, and gave orders for the rest of the army to advance, and about three in the afternoon approached so near the enemy, that a cannonade was opened on both sides. But he was again disappointed, his orders being so slowly and reluctantly obeyed, that evening prevented an attack. On the ensuing day

* Marlborough to Godolphin, Everbeek, Aug. 10–21. Memoires de Berwick, t. i.

the two armies still continued in presence; but in the night the french silently decamped. On the 28th they fell back to Moll and Balen, and on the 29th to Beverloo; and thus effected their retreat with no other detriment than a few casualties during the cannonade, and a trifling loss by an attack on their rear guard. In relating this incident to Godolphin, Marlborough expresses the utmost chagrin and disappointment.

" *Helchteren, Aug.* 16–27. 1702.

" The inclosed letter to the States will let you see the account I have given of the two days being in presence of the enemy. I have but too much reason to complain, that the ten thousand men upon our right did not march as soon as I sent the orders, which if they had, I believe we should have had a very easy victory, for their whole left was in disorder. However, I have thought it much for her majesty's service to take no notice of it, as you see by my letter to the States. But my lord Rivers, and almost all the general officers of the right, were with me when I sent the orders, so that notwithstanding the care I take to hinder it, they do talk. I could not believe the french were so strong as we now know they are; for my lord Carr, one of my aides de camp, was taken, so that he marched with them the day they retreated, and the duke of Berwick shewed him the whole army. He counted 72 battalions and 109 squadrons, but he says that our battalions are much stronger than theirs.

" Venloo will be invested to-morrow, and I have pressed the pensioner that if we have good success there, the States might give such timely order for

the stores, that we might have it in our power to attack Ruremond, if the season be favourable.

" I am in so ill humour that I will not trouble you, nor dare I trust myself to write more; but believe this truth, that I honour and love you, my lady Marlborough, and my children, and would die for the queen."

The disappointment which Marlborough so deeply lamented, created considerable uneasiness. The troops having discovered that the marshes between the two armies were passable, expressed their dissatisfaction that the advice of the commander had not been adopted, and loudly clamoured against the conduct of the deputies; and it was not without difficulty that Marlborough restrained this spirit of discontent, which spread even to the officers. He did not, however, himself escape the censure of those who were ignorant, or affected to be ignorant of the restrictions under which he laboured. The discontented party in England complained that the enemy had been suffered to escape, and now first raised the malicious clamour, which was afterwards propagated with such effect, that he was seeking to prolong the war for the gratification of his own personal interest. He bore these aspersions with patience, and from delicacy towards the States refrained from any public vindication of his conduct.

One good effect, however, resulted from the timidity of the dutch deputies and generals. The troops were thus inspired with additional confidence in their commander, and burned with impatience,

to retrieve the glorious opportunities which had been neglected.

Considerable detachments having been drawn from the french army to the Upper Rhine, the enemy relinquished their hopes of resuming offensive operations. The duke of Burgundy quitted the camp to avoid the dishonour of witnessing the reduction of the fortresses on the Meuse, and left the command to Boufflers.

On the 29th of August Marlborough decamped from Helchteren, crossed the heath of Donderslag, and took up a new position with his right at Asch and his left at Gurk, to cover the intended sieges, and facilitate the passage of supplies from Maestricht. Venloo was first invested on the 5th of September, but he could not overcome the dilatory and negligent spirit of the dutch government in providing the means of attack. He had also the additional mortification of being embarrassed by contentions which arose between Cohorn, the celebrated engineer, and some of the dutch generals. "I thank God," he writes to Godolphin, "we have now the finest weather that can be desired, which makes me very impatient to hear of the cannon being arrived at Venloo, which place was invested last Monday; but they can make no great progress till they have their artillery. England, that is famous for negligence, should any they employ be guilty of half what I see here, it would be impossible for them to avoid being justly torn to pieces by the parliament." *

* Marlborough to Godolphin, camp at Asch, Aug. 20. Sept. 2. 1702.

In another letter dated Asch, September 7. N.S. he observes:—

"They make so many difficulties at the siege of Venloo, that to-morrow there go from this army five battalions and five squadrons, notwithstanding we have notice that the business of Flanders is over, and that their detachment will join them this day. And it is said that part of the troops with the marquis of Bedmar have also orders to join the army. I have also intelligence from Venloo, that orders are come there for the baking of bread for the army. If all this be true, I shall be of your mind, that they will attempt something. If so, pray God give us success, and the sooner they attempt the better, their army being much sicker than ours. If they come to us know, we shall have 15 battalions and 28 squadrons less than we had, when we were last in presence with them. However our men are in so good heart, that I dare say we shall beat them."

Though unable to prevent the reduction of the fortresses, Boufflers made a movement, in hopes of some favourable opportunity to obstruct the confederates in their operations. On the 10th of September he marched to Beringhen, passed the Demer on the ensuing day, and on the 13th established his camp between Tongres and Borchloen, fixing his head quarters at Bedoe. As the rapid advance of Marlborough appeared to threaten the fortresses on the Rhine, Tallard was detached with 17 battalions and 25 squadrons, to favour the retreat of the elector of Cologne from Bonn, and throw a garrison into the place. He also forced

the city of Cologne to conclude a treaty of neutrality, and directing his march towards the Moselle, took measures for the security of Luxemburg, Treves, and Traerbach.*

Meanwhile the requisite preparations being matured, the investment of Venloo was completed; 32 battalions, and 36 squadrons were detached for the siege, under the command of the prince of Nassau Saarbruck; and on the 7th of September the attacks were opened on both sides of the Meuse, under the direction of Cohorn. To cover the operation, as well as to facilitate the passage of the convoys, and to draw forage from Spanish Guelderland, Marlborough on the 13th took up a new position, with his right at Sutendal, and his left at Lonaken.†

The trenches having been rapidly pushed forward, the first attack was directed on the 18th of September against Fort St. Michael, which was connected with the place by a bridge of boats across the Meuse, and formed its principal defence. The assault of this work was intrusted to a detachment under lord Cutts, consisting principally of english troops, and was executed with unusual spirit and success. The commander led his men to the attack, accompanied by lord Lorne, Mr. Dalrymple, Sir Richard Temple, and other distinguished volunteers. Mingling with the troops, they stormed the covert way, and carried the ravelin sword in hand, notwithstanding the explosion of a mine. The earl of Huntingdon, unable, from

* Memoires de Berwick, t. i. p. 197.

† Marlborough to lord Godolphin, Sutendal, Sept. 5–14, 1702.

a weak state of health, to make the same exertions as his gallant comrades, gave money to the soldiers to assist him in scaling the breastwork. Encouraged by their success, the victorious assailants forced their way over a bridge, connecting the ravelin with the interior works, and carried the fort itself by storm. Of the garrison 200 were made prisoners, and the remainder, amounting to 600, were either killed in the conflict, or drowned in attempting to cross the Meuse.*

The attack against the town was prosecuted with additional vigour and effect. Batteries were raised in the captured fort, and on the 23d of September, a tremendous fire of artillery was opened on the defences of the place. Before mid-day, an accessible breach being effected, the garrison were discouraged, and the burghers clamoured for a surrender. At this moment the news of the reduction of Landau reached the camp, and was announced by a volley of artillery. The first salute being considered by the enemy as the signal of assault, a flag of truce was instantly displayed, but remained unnoticed by the besiegers, whose attention was occupied with their own rejoicings. On the second discharge, the fears of the besieged being increased, white flags were hoisted on every part of the works. The signal was at length acknowledged, a capitulation arranged, and before the close of the day, the garrison quitting the breach with the honours of war, were conducted to Antwerp.

* Letter from lord Cutts, communicating the result of the attack. History of Europe for 1702, p. 353.

While Marlborough was engaged in superintending the siege of Venloo, he received intimation from the british cabinet that a negotiation was opened with the elector of Bavaria; and certain articles were transmitted by the secretary of state, which seemed to indicate a successful issue. Marlborough was instructed to open a private communication with the pensionary, and obtain his consent to the terms which the english cabinet were disposed to grant. But before the intelligence reached him, the overture proved delusive. On the 8th of September, the elector occupied Ulm and other posts, requisite to open a communication with the french army on the Rhine, and immediately declared in favour of the house of * Bourbon.

Stimulated to greater exertion by the capture of Venloo, the british commander ordered the troops who had reduced the place to advance up the Meuse, and on the 29th of September, Stevenswaert and Ruremond, two fortresses between Venloo and Maestricht, were at once invested. The same difficulties and delays occurred as in the preceding siege; but the energy of Marlborough was not to be checked by the negligence of the dutch officers, or by the scruples of Cohorn, whom Gueldermassen justly termed "the general of difficulties." In a letter to Godolphin, dated Sutendal, September 17–28, Marlborough indicates his ulterior views.

"The very ill weather gives but too reasonable an excuse that the sieges do not go so fast as could be wished. However, I think there is no doubt but

* Correspondence of Marlborough from Sutendal, Sept. 7–18. to Sept. 14–25.

we shall have them. That of Stevenswaert, I hope we shall have by the beginning of the next week; and as soon as we have those troops again with us, I shall do my utmost with the deputies and my lord of Athlone, that we may march between Liege and Tongres, which will oblige the marshal Boufflers to take his party off defending Tongres, or retreating behind his lines. I think he will do the last, but my lord of Athlone is of another opinion; so that he would stay till the siege of Ruremond is over, that those troops might also join us. My fears are, that if we stay till that siege be finished, the ways will be so very ill that we shall not be able to carry our cannon with us, and then I am sure what we call our left wing will not go, for they begin to say that they ought to be contented with what has already been done. If the french be not obliged to quit Tongres, they will have it in their power to bombard Maestricht any time this winter; besides, it will give them the advantage of quartering a very great body of troops on this side of their lines."

Stevenswaert, being provided with a garrison of only 400 men, made but a faint defence, and was surrendered after a siege of five days, on the 5th of October. The resistance of Ruremond was scarcely more obstinate. The attacks were opened on the 2d of October, by the prussians on one side of the river, and the english on the other. The batteries began to play on the 6th, the besieged beat a parley the same afternoon, and on the ensuing day the garrison capitulated, and were conducted to Louvain.

A letter from Mr. Cardonel to secretary Harley, shews the indefatigable activity of the generalissimo, and the obstructions with which he had to contend.

After noticing the capture of Stevenswaert, he adds — "I hope in my next to send you the like good news of Ruremond, where we reckon Mr. Cohorn is more nice than wise. He is losing time there as he did before Venloo, and will not begin till he has every thing ready to a tittle, though half the preparations might do the business; for we reckon Stevenswaert must be the strongest of the two. However, we question not but we shall be masters of the place in three or four days after we begin. And all this good fortune I may venture to say is owing, under God, to my Lord Marlborough's conduct. For if his excellency had not been very firm in his resolutions, not only against the dutch generals, but even the States themselves, the alarm in Flanders would have carried good part of our troops that way, and entirely defeated our designs upon the Maes this campaign. This the dutch begin to own freely, with a good deal of applause to his excellency."*

In the midst of these operations the army of the empire, under the command of Joseph, the young king of the Romans, had resumed the offensive; and after an arduous struggle, on the 11th of September reduced Landau, which was regarded as an outwork of Alsace. This loss obliged the french still farther to reduce their army in the

* Camp at Sutendal, Oct. 21. 1702. — State Paper Office.

Netherlands, and encouraged Marlborough to prosecute his success. He extorted the consent of the States to attempt the reduction of Liege, which commanded the navigation of the Meuse above Maestricht. This enterprise he executed with his usual diligence and success. Apprised that Boufflers had examined the defences of the place, and was preparing to post himself under the walls, he suddenly broke up his camp, and marched with such celerity as to anticipate the enemy on the very ground which they intended to occupy. So secret and well combined was this movement, that the french commander approached within cannon-shot of the confederates, before he was conscious of his danger. His defeat would have been inevitable, had not the caution of the dutch deputies again become his safeguard. Taking advantage of the night, he on the 13th made a precipitate retreat to Orp-le-petit, and placed his camp between Lannuye and Landen. The city having opened its gates on the approach of the confederate army, preparations were instantly made to reduce the citadel, into which the french garrison had retired. On the 20th of October the batteries were opened, and on the 23d a breach was effected, and the approaches were sufficiently advanced for an attack on the covert way. In giving an account of the success to lord Godolphin, he says: —

" I writ to you this morning in haste, and gave you an account that the counterscarp of the citadel was to be attacked, which was done this afternoon. After the french were beaten out of the counterscarp, our men attacked the breach, and after a

resistance of half an hour they carried it. The governor was taken in the breach by an english lieutenant, which shews that the queen's subjects were the first upon the breach. This has been an action of much vigour, so that it is impossible to say too much of the bravery that was shewn by all the officers and soldiers. The governor and great numbers of their officers are already brought to my quarters.*

Preparations were next made to attack the Chartreuse, a detached work on the opposite bank of the Meuse. But the garrison, being too much discouraged by the fate of their companions in the citadel to abide the consequences of an assault, surrendered Oct. 29, on the first fire from the batteries.

On this event the french retiring within their lines took up a position behind the Mehaigne, between Boneffe and the Josse. But as the season was too far advanced for ulterior operations, after the fatigues of the campaign, Marlborough distributed his troops into winter quarters, and prepared to return to England, where his presence was anxiously expected. †

* Camp before Liege, Oct. 12-23. eight at night.

† For the account of this campaign I have consulted and compared — Correspondence of the duke of Marlborough — Plans of the campaign — Letters from Gueldermassen, the dutch deputy — Official letters and documents in the Gazette — Life of Marlborough, p. 38—44. — Lediard, p. 132—212. — Histoire du duc de Marlborough, t. i. p. 127—181. — Broderic's History of the war in the Netherlands, v. i. p. 13—55. — Military History of Eugene and Marlborough, v. i. p. 99—107. — History of Europe for 1702. — Memoires de Berwick, ad annum 1702. — Targe Histoire de l'Avenement de la maison de Bourbon, tom. ii. chap. 5.

CHAPTER 13.

1702.

Passage of Marlborough down the Meuse.—Captured by a french party.—His extraordinary escape.—Arrival and reception at the Hague.—Remarks on the unfortunate expedition to Cadiz.

WHILE the british people were anxiously expecting the close of the campaign, they were on the point of losing the great commander who had raised their hopes and spread the glory of their arms. On the 3d of November he quitted Maestricht for the Hague, and with the dutch deputies descended the Meuse in a boat, accompanied by a guard of twenty-five men. At Ruremond he was joined on the following day by Cohorn, in a larger boat with sixty men, and an additional escort of fifty troopers attended them along the banks of the river. Such a force seemed fully sufficient to protect them against any enterprise from the french posts and garrisons in the vicinity; but in the night the horsemen lost their way, the larger boat outsailed the other, and Marlborough was left with only his slender guard of twenty-five men.

In this situation the boat was surprised by a French partisan from Guelder, who, with thirty-five men, was lurking among the reeds and sedge. They suddenly seized the tow-rope, poured a volley

into the boat, and rushing on board, overpowered the guard.

The dutch deputies were furnished with french passes, but Marlborough had thought it degrading to solicit such a safeguard. The coolness and presence of mind, which never deserted him in the field, were, however, no less conspicuous in this inglorious yet imminent peril. One of his attendants * who had fortunately preserved a french pass granted to his brother, general Churchill, when obliged to quit the army from ill health, slipped it unperceived into his hand. Though aware that the date had expired, and that the most trifling scrutiny would detect the deception, he presented it to his captors with undisturbed confidence. His unruffled deportment, the darkness of the night, and the confusion of the moment, prevented a discovery. The adventurers, after pillaging the vessel, and extorting the customary presents, retained the escort as prisoners, and suffered Marlborough and his fellow travellers to proceed.

In an instant the disastrous tidings were spread that the general had fallen into the hands of the enemy; and the governor of Venloo led his garrison to Guelder, whither he supposed the illustrious captive had been conveyed, determined to effect his rescue, or perish in the attempt. At the

* Marlborough himself has enabled us to trace the name and circumstances of his attendant. In a letter to the duchess, dated Oct. 5. 1704, he observes, "Stephen Gell whom you mention, is son to a man who was with me when I was taken. He was so far instrumental, as to give me a pass out of his pocket which I knew nothing of. The pass being for my brother, I passed for him. He has cost me £50 a year ever since."

Hague also the intelligence excited the utmost consternation. The States, who were then assembled, passed a vote by acclamation, enjoining all their troops to march without delay, and constrain the garrison of Guelder to release their prisoner.

In the midst of the confusion and alarm, Marlborough himself appeared at the Hague. The transport of joy which burst forth on his arrival, proved the deep and general interest felt for his safety. The sedate and deliberative character of the natives was lost in the enthusiasm of exultation. Surrounded by enraptured crowds, and overwhelmed by tumultuous proofs of popular applause, Marlborough with difficulty reached the hotel destined for his reception accompanied by a cavalcade less pompous indeed, but far more gratifying than any which perhaps had ever graced the triumphal procession of a Roman general to the Capitol.

His friend, pensionary Heinsius, was deputed to compliment him in the name of the States. In this address the orator expressed the sentiments, not only of his countrymen, but of every friend to public liberty. "Your captivity," he said, "was on the point of causing the slavery of these provinces, and restoring to France the power of extending her uncontrollable dominion over all Europe. No hope was left, if she retained in bondage the man whom we revere as the instrument of Providence, to secure independence to the greater part of the christian world."

A letter from the commander himself to Godolphin, shews the deep interest taken in his provi-

dential escape, and the effect which it produced on his own feelings.

" *Hague, Oct.* 28. — At my arrival here, I met with three mails from England, but must beg you will excuse my giving no answer to them till the next post, being obliged to see every body that comes. My room is full at this time, I being more welcome to them by an accident I had, of being taken by a french party. Till they saw me, they thought me a prisoner in France, so that I was not ashore one minute, before I had great crowds of the common people, some endeavouring to take me by the hands, and all crying out welcome. But that which moved me most was, to see a great many of both sexes cry for joy. I have been extremely obliged by the kind reception I have met with; for from five in the afternoon till after ten at night, there was a perpetual firing in the streets, which is their way of rejoicing.

" I pray God bless the queen and her undertakings, for the liberty of Christendom depends upon it. After five or six days I shall be sure to take the first fair wind."

The events of the campaign convinced Marlborough, that a considerable augmentation of troops was necessary, particularly as the french were already making strenuous efforts to open the ensuing campaign in the Netherlands. To this object he therefore directed the earliest attention; and, during his stay at the Hague, employed every argument to stimulate the zeal of his friend Godolphin.

In a letter, dated Peregrine Galley, Nov. 21, he observes:—" I have had yours of the 17th, and what the dutch ambassadors have said to her majesty concerning the augmentation of her troops, was directed by the States before my arrival at the Hague, so that I can't imagine how they came to be so late in the delivering of it. But that which gives me trouble in this matter is, that you think it very difficult to obtain any more troops for this next year; for I think the whole success of this war depends upon our having a superiority this next campaign. The dutch are at this time so alarmed at the preparations that are making in France, that they are very desirous of joining with England for the hiring of troops, as you will see by the enclosed copy of their letter to their ambassadors for her majesty; for they are fully persuaded that, if the french have the superiority, which they must have, if we do not augment, the next campaign may prove fatal. The count de Bergueick*, in Flanders, has already prepared a project for augmenting the 24,000 men they pay, to 40,000; every town and village being obliged to send their proportion of men, so that those troops are to be completed by the 15th of February. The same methods are taking in France, which has very much frighted this country. By your letter, I can see but one way of preventing what is thought here a certain ruin; and that is, that in the appropriating clauses it may be left

* Spanish governor of the Netherlands.

in her majesty's power to apply the money of 5000 seamen to this service, which will enable her to pay 10,000 landmen more; the dutch doing the same, will make an augmentation of 20,000 men; though, at the same time, I must let you know, that the alarm here is so great, that they think less than thirty will not do. I am very much convinced that the french will next year venture a battle at the beginning of the campaign; so that we must expect that they will be as strong as they can in these parts, at least in the beginning of the year, for they will have nothing to apprehend upon the Rhine till the month of July; and if the emperor can't force the elector of Bavaria this winter to quit the french interest, I believe it will be impossible to strengthen prince Eugene's army, so as to put him in a condition of acting offensively."

In closing our narrative of military transactions, we cannot neglect to render justice to the candour and liberality of Athlone. The veteran general, instead of indulging that jealousy, which too often rankles in less noble minds, seized an early opportunity to acknowledge his own errors, and applaud the merits of his illustrious colleague. "The success of this campaign," he said, "is solely due to this incomparable chief, since I confess that I, serving as second in command, opposed in all circumstances his opinion and proposals." No panegyric can equal this candid avowal. It is alike honourable to the general by whom it was made, and to him whom no obstructions could divert from the accomplishment of his beneficial designs.

A plan for the reduction of Cadiz had been formed by William, and the scheme was approved, and promoted by Marlborough among his friends in the ministry. Of this enterprise the detail belongs not to our history. It is sufficient to observe, that, by a series of singular mismanagements, the scheme was frustrated, and that the spanish people, whom it was the interest of the allies to conciliate, were rendered inveterately hostile against the english and dutch, by the excesses and misconduct of the troops.

From the ill success of this attempt, the commanders of the expedition were induced to undertake an attack against Vigo, where a rich flota from America had taken refuge. By accident, rather than skill, they succeeded in forcing their way into the harbour. But the plunder did not answer their expectations, or compensate for the charges of the armament; for the flota was destroyed in the conflict, and the principal part of the cargoes either sunk, or conveyed into the interior.

This partial success, therefore, did not weaken the sense of shame for the disgrace before Cadiz. The duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke, commanders of the army and fleet, accused each other for their failure, and the animosity of both parties proved their resolution to make the conduct and result of the expedition a subject of parliamentary inquiry.

Marlborough was aware that such an investigation could neither remedy the past, nor produce

advantage for the future; while he was conscious that it would give rise to party feuds, which could not fail to prove highly detrimental to the common cause in general, and to England in particular. He therefore laboured to soothe the irritation of the respective chiefs; and by his correspondence, in a letter to his friend lord Godolphin, endeavoured to prevent the effects of an ill-timed appeal to the public.

"*Nov.* 21.—My letters tell me that the duke of Ormond is governed by people that will incline him to accuse Sir George Rooke. By what I am told here, I should think it would be more for his grace's service, and all the rest of the officers, that the conduct at Cadiz should not be inquired into; for what can be said for staying 26 days at Port St. Mary; for, if Cadiz was to be attacked, they should not have stayed there; and if the taking of Cadiz was not thought feasible, then they should not have lost time, but have reimbarked, to have attempted what was in their instructions. I forget that I am in a very idle place, and you, where you have little time to yourself, so that I must give you no farther trouble, but beg my most humble duty may be given to her majesty and the prince."

The contending chiefs appear to have been swayed by the prudent admonitions of Marlborough. They desisted from their mutual accusations; and the public, overlooking their failure at Cadiz, acknowledged their unexpected success at Vigo, with higher applause than it deserved.

The scandalous disorders which marked the conduct of the troops were no otherwise punished, than by the removal of a few officers, whose neglect of discipline had been too notorious to be treated with indulgence.

CHAPTER 14.

1702.

Return of the earl of Marlborough to England.—Addressed by both houses on his success.—The queen confers on him a dukedom, with a pension of £5000 a year from the post-office.—The proposal to unite this grant with the title rejected by the commons.—Marlborough supports the grant of a settlement to the prince of Denmark.—His chagrin at the opposition it encountered from the whigs, particularly from lord Sunderland.—Supports the bill against occasional conformity.

Before the return of Marlborough to England, the queen had summoned a new parliament. The tories, by the influence of the crown and their own exertions, secured a considerable majority; Harley was re-chosen speaker, without opposition, and the decisions of contested elections unequivocally manifested their ascendancy.

It was natural that a parliament so constituted should not be sparing in its praise of a general, who had hitherto distinguished himself by his attachment to tory principles. Yet the intrinsic value of his exploits was not so much regarded, as the contrast they presented to the less fortunate operations of king William. In the address of the commons, this sentiment was shewn by the expres-

sion, " The wonderful success of your majesty's arms, under the conduct of the earl of Marlborough, has signally *retrieved* the antient honour of this nation." The whigs made a vigorous effort to change this invidious term; but after a warm debate, they lost their amendment by a majority of an hundred voices.

As if to humble the commander, who had contravened their darling principles of foreign policy, they coupled his exploits with the trifling success at Vigo, by distinguishing the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke, with similar testimonies of approbation. The public joy was testified by a thanksgiving at St. Paul's, which was attended by the queen and both houses of parliament. The general applause which the exploits of Marlborough awakened, favoured the intention which the queen had conceived before his return from the continent, of raising him to the highest rank which a british subject can attain; and the votes of thanks from both houses, which he received on his arrival, gave her reason to hope that no opposition would be made, to the rewards which she designed to confer on a commander who had deserved so well of his country.

It has been generally imagined that the ducal title, with which Marlborough was soon afterwards honoured, was obtained solely by the influence of his countess; it was, however, on the contrary, the spontaneous act of the queen, suggested by the warmest sentiments of friendship and gratitude, and offered with the most flattering delicacy.

Lord Godolphin was first apprised of the queen's

intention, and in forwarding to the countess the address of the house of lords, he observed, " I am apt to think Mrs. Morley may have something to say to you upon this subject, which perhaps you may not like, but I think it should be endured on such an occasion, when it is visible to the whole world that it is not done upon your own account."

Before the countess could reply, a letter arrived from the queen. After some affectionate expressions on her absence, she added: —

" Lord treasurer intends to send you a copy of the address of the house of lords, which is to be given me to-morrow, and that gives me an opportunity of mentioning a thing to you that I did not intend to do yet. It is very uneasy to your poor unfortunate faithful Morley, to think that she has so very little in her power to shew how truly sensible I am of all my lord Marlborough's kindness, especially at a time when he deserves all that a rich crown could give. But since there is nothing else at this time, I hope you will give me leave as soon as he comes, to make him a duke. I know my dear Mrs. Freeman does not care for any thing of that kind, nor am I satisfied with it, because it does not enough express the value I have for Mr. Freeman, nor nothing ever can, how passionately I am yours, my dear Mrs. Freeman." *

The reply of the countess to so kind and flattering a proposal is not preserved; but her sentiments

* The queen to the countess of Marlborough, St. James's, Oct. 22. Conduct, p. 302. 304.

on the subject are fully expressed in a letter afterwards written to one of her friends.

" I believe," she says, " there are very few in the world that did not think me very much pleased with the increase of honour the queen gave lord Marlborough when he commanded the army at her coming to the crown; and perhaps it is so ridiculous, at least what so few people will believe, that I would not mention it but to those that I could shew the original letters to. If there be any truth in a mortal it was so uneasy to me, that when I read the letter first upon it, I let it drop out of my hand, and was for some minutes like one that had received the news of the death of one of their dear friends: I was so sorry for any thing of that kind, having before all that was of any use.

" I fear you will think what I say upon this subject is affected; and therefore I must repeat again, that it was more uneasy to me for a time than can easily be believed. I do think there is no advantage but in going in at a door; and when a rule is settled, I like as well to follow five hundred as one. And the title of duke in a family, where there are many sons, is often a great burthen. Though at that time I had myself but one, yet I might have had more, and the next generation a great many. To conclude, a higher title was not my feat, and if I saw you, I could convince you of it." *

In these declarations she is fully supported by the correspondence yet preserved. As she per-

* MS. letter in the Marlborough Papers.

sisted in declining the proffered dignity, the lord treasurer next addressed himself to the queen, and pressed her to consult the delicacy of her friend, but his expostulations were as fruitless with her majesty as with the countess. *

Lady Marlborough wrote in earnest terms to her husband, urging him to decline this accession of honour; and although it appears that he was not averse to so distinguished a mark of favour, her remonstrances at least suspended his decision.

"*Hague, Nov.* 4.—You know," he observes, "I am very ill at compliments, but I have a heart full of gratitude: therefore pray say all you can to the queen for her extraordinary goodness to me. As you have let me have your thoughts as to the dukedom, you shall have mine in short, since I shall have the happiness of being with you so soon, when I may advise with you more at large on this matter. But be assured that I shall have a mind to nothing, but as it may be easy to you. I do agree with you that we ought not to wish for a greater title, till we have a better estate. Your other objection is also very just, that this promotion might bring great solicitations upon the queen, which I am sure I would not give occasion for. The queen's goodness in being desirous to establish my family, answers the first, since that may be done this winter; for I agree with you, that it should be done before the title."

"*Hague, Nov.* 6.—Since my last I have advised with the pensioner, whom I take to be very much

* Letter of Godolphin, printed in the Conduct, p. 304.

my friend, and is believed to be a very judicious man. Having acquainted him with the queen's intentions and your objections, I begged his friendship in letting me have his advice freely. He said a great deal to me that is not proper for me to repeat; but in short, his distinction as to the time of my taking the queen's favour (for I insisted very much that it would be of greater advantage to my family at the end of the war than now) was, that if it were now done, it would be a justice in the queen, and do her good with all the princes abroad, especially in this country, where he hoped she would employ me as long as the war should last: he said if it were not done now in the heat of every body's being pleased with what I had done, it would at any other time be thought the effect of favour, which would not be so great an honour to my family, nor to the queen's service. He farther said that he could have wished the queen had given her direction whilst I had been in the army, as the king of France did to the marshal de Villars this summer. I farther urged to him the trouble it might bring upon the queen, by several families pressing to have the same title; he made me for answer, that it would not have that effect if it were done now, since it was visible to all the world it was done as a reward for the good services of this campaign, so that it could concern nobody but myself; but if it were done upon a long deliberation, those families might expect to be considered. The last thing I urged to him, and which is very true, was, that I should make a worse figure in England by being a duke than as I am, till I had an estate

for it; he said the queen's kindness was such, that I need not doubt a fortune, and that whatever was done at this time, for my fortune as well as the title would be without envy, since all the people were pleased with what I had done. He farther said to me, that it was not reasonable to expect ever to have so much success in any other campaign as in this, so that he ended in begging me for the good of the common cause, the queen's service, and my own sake, that I would think this the proper time of being distinguished. I answered him that I did agree with him, that I thought as far as such a thing was capable, it might have a good effect on this side of the water, and that for my own honour it was undeniably the right time; but how far it might create trouble to her majesty, or that my friends might think this proper for me, I could not tell, but I assured him that I would acquaint you and my lord treasurer with what he said, and that I should be governed by you two in this matter. I do beg of you that you will do me justice, that it is not my vanity that makes me think what the pensioner says is reasonable, but the thoughts I have that the queen cannot have a better time of justifying * * * *."†

The solicitations of the queen and the importunities of lord Godolphin, as well as the representations of pensionary Heinsius, at length vanquished the reluctance of the countess. The earl was accordingly created marquess of Blandford and duke of Marlborough, by letters patent, dated December 14. 1702. The queen, fully sensible that his pro-

† The remainder of this letter is lost.

perty was insufficient to maintain so high a dignity, sent a message to the house of commons, stating that she had created him a duke, and conferred on him £5000 per annum out of the post-office for her own life. She concluded with requesting the house to devise a proper mode for settling this grant on himself and his successors in the title.

Contrary to her expectation, however, the proposal occasioned violent debates; and invidious insinuations were thrown out that Marlborough was endeavouring to monopolise the royal favour. Sir Christopher Musgrave, in particular, said, he did not wish to detract from the duke's eminent services, but he must insist that they had been well rewarded. He concluded with expatiating on the profitable employments which he and his family enjoyed. In consequence of the spirit manifested by the commons, the duke solicited the queen to recall her message, lest he should be the cause of obstruction to the public service. She accordingly communicated his request to the house, and withdrew her application; but the predominant party did not omit to make a strong remonstrance against the proposed grant, fraught with the most acrimonious reflections on the memory of king William, and on his profusion towards his foreign favourites. This disappointment only rendered the queen more anxious to display her gratitude and esteem. The very day in which the remonstrance of the commons was presented, she imparted to the duchess her design of adding £2000 a year out of the privy purse, to the grant of the £5000

already made during her own life, from the revenue of the post-office.

"*Wednesday, Dec.* 16.—I cannot be satisfied with myself, without doing something towards making up what has been so maliciously hindered in the parliament, and therefore I desire my dear Mrs. Freeman and Mr. Freeman would be so kind as to accept of two thousand a year out of the privy purse, besides the grant of the five. This can draw no envy, for nobody need know it. Not that I would disown what I give to people that deserve, especially where it is impossible to reward the deserts, but you may keep it a secret or not, as you please. I beg my dear Mrs. Freeman would never any way give me an answer to this; only comply with the desires of your poor unfortunate faithful Morley, that loves you most tenderly, and is with the sincerest passion imaginable yours."*

Notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the queen, this liberal offer was respectfully but firmly declined.†

From gratitude for the kindness of the queen, Marlborough and his friends zealously exerted themselves in parliament, to promote a measure in which she was personally interested. The first wish of Anne on her accession was, to associate her

* The duchess has given a short extract of this letter in the Conduct. p. 295.

† This disinterestedness would be entitled to high applause, if the duchess had consistently maintained the same spirit; but in a subsequent part of these memoirs, we shall find that on her disgrace she claimed and received the whole pension for the preceding nine years.—See chapter 98.

husband in the regal dignity; but her design being overruled, as unconstitutional, she became more anxious to secure to him a permanent revenue. The proposal was communicated to parliament by a message, requesting the settlement of a farther provision on the prince of Denmark, in case of his survival. Mr. Howe, member for Gloucestershire, a zealous tory, moved, on the 21st of November, for a grant of £100,000 yearly. As the tories, who formed the majority, were decidedly favourable to this measure, no opposition was made to the grant itself; but objections were urged against a clause annexed to the bill, intended to continue to the prince the offices already conferred on him during the life of the queen, by exempting him from the effect of that clause in the act of settlement by which foreigners were forbidden to hold offices of state, on the accession of the Hanover line.

After a trifling debate the bill passed the commons, but in the house of lords encountered the most violent opposition. The act itself was regarded as a money bill, and the clause as a tack, which, by a standing order then recently established, the house was bound to reject. Secondly, a general objection was made to the terms of the clause, which were considered as implying that all other foreigners already naturalized, were incapacitated in the next reign, which was contrary to the intent of the act of settlement.

The friends of the queen strenuously exerted themselves, though they did not prevail without extreme difficulty, and by a majority of only one voice. A protest was signed against the clause, as a tack,

by seven peers, and a second still stronger against the whole bill by twenty-eight. From the names which are recorded, the opposition seems to have principally arisen from the whigs, who regarded the bill as an infringement of the principles acknowledged at the revolution; and bishop Burnet himself, one of the protestors, conjectures, that it was captiously introduced by the tories, for the purpose of indisposing the queen against their political * opponents.

The gratitude of the queen for the exertions of Marlborough in procuring this grant, appears in one of her letters to the duchess.

"I am sure the prince's bill passing after so much struggle, is wholly owing to the pains you and Mr. Freeman have taken, and I ought to say a great deal to both of you in return, but neither words nor actions can ever express the true sense Mr. Morley and I have of your sincere kindness on this and all other occasions; and therefore I will not say any more on this subject, but that to my last moment, your dear unfortunate faithful Morley will be most passionately and tenderly yours." †

The duke and duchess of Marlborough were deeply chagrined to find among the most zealous opponents of this measure, their son-in-law, lord Sunderland, who had recently taken his seat in the house of peers, on the death of his father. He not only spoke against the grant, but signed the protests. The impetuous spirit of the duchess was peculiarly irritated by this mark of disrespect. In

* History of His own Time, vol. v. p. 125, 8vo. — Tindal, vol. xv. p. 440.

† Marlborough Papers.

her zeal for the gratification of the queen, she forgot her attachment to whig principles, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that her amiable daughter lady Sunderland effected a reconciliation. * This incident was among the earliest of that series of mortifications which Marlborough experienced from the party spirit of his son-in-law, and may be considered as one of the causes of the rooted antipathy which the queen fostered against lord Sunderland.

During this session of parliament, Marlborough took an active share in promoting a bill, which in appearance was calculated to add to the security of the national church, but in reality to increase the strength of the tories, by depriving the whig party of the support drawn from the moderate dissenters.

Since the passing of the corporation and test acts, in the reign of Charles the second, the antipathy against the dissenters had gradually diminished. In consequence of the zeal which they had manifested at the revolution, and the countenance they had received from William, many of the less rigid had obtained admission into corporations and offices under government, by receiving the communion, though without conforming regularly to the worship of the church of England. They naturally joined the whigs, and were zealous supporters of the war, which they deemed necessary to consolidate the revolution, and secure both civil and religious liberty. Hence they became obnoxious to the tory or high-church party. Ac-

* Letter from lady Sunderland to the duchess, without date.

cordingly, soon after the accession of Anne, the adherents of the court evinced a strong inclination to revive the penal statutes against occasional conformity; and Marlborough interested himself so warmly in the measure, that the author of a violent pamphlet, intituled "The Case of Toleration recognised," which was intended to prepare the public mind, dedicated it to him, as a person of unsuspected zeal for the principles of the high church.

At this period the partisans of the high church deeming themselves sufficiently powerful to execute their design, a bill was introduced into the house of commons, by Bromley and St. John, for the purpose of preventing occasional conformity.

In the preamble, persecution was disclaimed, and the principles of toleration warmly asserted; but the provisions of the act were not the less severe, and indeed were calculated to exclude all, except zealous churchmen, from every office of trust or honour. Even the privilege of freedom in corporations was taken away. As if to increase the hardship of exclusion, no time was limited for giving information against offenders, no rule laid down to define the nature of the offence, and the penalties were so severe as in many cases to threaten utter ruin.

Suspicions being entertained that the measure would be strenuously opposed in the house of lords, a proposal was made to tack the act to a money bill, as an effectual expedient to extort their acquiescence. But so dangerous an expedient being discouraged by the moderate of all parties, the

lords anticipated the scheme, by passing a standing order against the reception of a money bill, if tacked to an act of a different nature.

The bill passed the commons by a large majority; but although supported in the upper house by the whole interest of the court and ministry, it was attacked with unusual vigour and perseverance. Even the bench of bishops treated it as a mere party measure, and several either spoke or voted against it. Many amendments were proposed, and some of the clauses were carried only by a single voice, though the queen so far interested herself in the measure as to induce her husband, himself, an occasional conformist, to give it his personal support.

The bill, amended or modified in many essential points, was returned to the commons. But after a long conference between the two houses, it was finally lost, by the refusal of the commons to agree in the alterations made by the lords. *

* Burnet.—Tindal, vol. xv. p. 452.—Chandler's Commons Debates, vol. iii. where there is an excellent account of this celebrated bill.—History of Europe for 1702.

CHAPTER 15.

1703.

Illness and death of the marquess of Blandford.—Correspondence on the occasion.—Affectionate letters of the duke to the duchess from the continent.—Marriages of his two younger daughters, ladies Elizabeth and Mary.

NOTWITHSTANDING the mortifications which Marlborough had endured from his tory friends, he was gratified by their zeal and promptitude in granting the supplies, both for the army and navy, as well as the subsidies for the pay of the foreign auxiliaries. The parliament also voted a supply for an augmentation of 10,000 additional troops, under the condition that the States General should prohibit all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain. The States were thus compelled to relinquish an intercourse against which Marlborough had before remonstrated in vain; and the king of France was deprived of the facility, which he had hitherto enjoyed, of remitting money to the elector of Bavaria and the Italian army, as well as his subjects of the profitable commerce which they carried on under the protection of the dutch flag.

While Marlborough was actively employed in maturing the military preparations, he was visited

by a domestic calamity of the severest kind, the death of his only son, the marquess of Blandford. His wife had borne him two sons, John and Charles, and four daughters. The daughters all survived; but the second son, Charles, died at an early age. The elder, a promising youth, still remained, and had now reached his seventeenth year. He was amiable in disposition, and united a solid understanding and lively parts with the most captivating mildness and docility.

After receiving a careful education at Eton, where he distinguished himself by his classical attainments, he was destined to fill the place of master of the horse to the young duke of Gloucester, that he might grow up in intimacy with the future sovereign. But on the death of the prince, he was sent to King's College in the university of Cambridge, and placed under the tuition of Mr. Hare, afterwards well known as chaplain to the duke, and bishop of Chichester. Notwithstanding his high birth, splendid prospects, and courtly education, he set an example of affability, regularity, and steadiness, above his years; and in one of his letters to lord Godolphin, he expresses the warmest approbation both of the studies and discipline of the place. He was regular also in the performance of his religious duties, and a punctual attendant at the administration of the holy sacrament. The turn of his character was displayed by the choice of his associates. His steady, affectionate, and studious disposition, led him to form an intimate friendship with Horace, afterwards lord Walpole, who was then a fellow of the same

college, and who not only spoke of his qualities as singularly excellent and amiable, but at later times never mentioned his name without expressions of regret.

In this early period of his life, the fame of his illustrious father inspired the young nobleman with a strong passion for a military life, and in the midst of the campaign in 1702, we find him earnestly soliciting permission to serve in the Netherlands. Marlborough was too much gratified with this indication of youthful spirit to reject his request; but on referring the proposal to the decision of his lady, the anxious mother shrunk from the prospect of the danger and hardship to which her darling son must necessarily be exposed in a military life. The youth, however, was not discouraged by this repulse, for he persisted in his resolution to enter the army, and promised to procure for his friend, Horace Walpole, a commission in the cavalry, that they might both serve together.*

On this promising youth the fond father placed his hopes of transmitting his name and honours to posterity, and the mother loved him with the enthusiastic warmth of her temper. Among the Blenheim papers are several letters from lord Godolphin to the duchess, which exhibit striking proofs of their parental solicitude, and present in an interesting light those amiable qualities which so justly called forth their affection.

"*August 5.*—I will repeat to you, that I find

* Letters of the duke to the duchess in 1702.—Lord Walpole's Memoirs, chapter 1.

lord Churchill very lean. He is tractable and good-humoured, and without any one ill inclination, that I can perceive. And I think he is grown more solid than he was, and has lost a great deal of that impatience of diverting himself all manner of ways, which he used to have. This is truly just as I find him, and I thought it might not be improper to give you this account, that you might be the better judge whether you would desire to see him now, according to the proposal I made in my letter of yesterday, or stay for that satisfaction till my lord Marlborough comes over."

"*Newmarket, October* 5.—Lord Churchill is now at Cambridge, but to-day he comes hither for five or six days. What you write about him, is, I think, extremely just and reasonable, and though the small-pox has been in this town, yet he going into no house but mine, will I hope be more defended from it by air and riding, without any violent exercise, than he could possibly be any where else."

"*October* 8.—Lord Churchill is extremely regular and orderly, nor do I see the least inclination in him to be otherwise. The good air and moderate exercise of this place, makes him look much better than when he came hither."

"*St. James's, Tuesday*, 13.

"I am sure it will not be unreasonable to hear something of your pretty son, whom I have just now parted from; and I assure you, without flattery or partiality, that he is not only the best natured and most agreeable, but the most free-thinking and reasonable creature that one can imagine of his age. He had twenty pretty questions and

requests, but I will not trouble you with the particulars, till I have the honour to see you."

Unfortunately the fears, which we find expressed in one of the preceding letters, were but too well-founded. A few days after his return to Cambridge, he was seized with a disorder which soon proved to be a small-pox of the most malignant kind. On the first news of the attack, the duchess hurried to Cambridge, and finding her son in imminent danger, sent to London for medical advice. The queen, with her usual affection, dispatched two of the physicians of her household, who, for the greater expedition, travelled in one of the royal carriages. She at the same time testified her sympathy in a consolatory note.

"*Thursday morning.*

"I writ two words to my dear Mrs. Freeman yesterday, and could not help telling her again that I am truly afflicted for the melancholy account that is come again this morning of poor dear lord Blandford. I pray God grant he may do well, and support you. And give me leave once more to beg you for Christ Jesus' sake, to have a care of your dear precious self, and believe me with all the passion imaginable, your poor unfortunate faithful Morley." *

"I wish," she added in another letter, "that the messenger who carries the medicines which my dear Mrs. Freeman sends for, could fly, that no-

* This was the epithet by which the queen in her letters to lady Marlborough invariably designated herself after the death of her son the duke of Gloucester.

thing may be wanting the moment there is any occasion."

The lord treasurer also took this opportunity to advert to every motive of consolation, which reason or religion could suggest.

" *Thursday*, 10 *in the morning*.

" Mr. Godolphin's letter, just now arrived with the account of poor dear lord Blandford's condition, gives us the most grievous affliction imaginable.

" Dr. Haines and Dr. Coladon went from my house about five last night, in a hackney coach and six horses, with orders to take one of the queen's coaches to carry them on; so I hope they were this morning with you. God send their remedies may be able to relieve the poor child, but it looks dismally by Mr. Godolphin's account.

" The best use of one's best friends is, to assist and support one another under the most grievous afflictions. This is the greatest trial of your submission and resignation to the Divine providence that God Almighty could possibly send you, and consequently the greatest opportunity of pleasing him, by that respect and submission which is always due to his severest trials; and at the same time, the greatest occasion of letting the whole world see that God Almighty has blessed you with a christian patience and fortitude, as eminent as the reason and understanding by which you are most justly distinguished from the rest of your sex.

" God Almighty bless, preserve, and comfort you."

Two letters from the father display his bitter grief on this afflicting occasion.

"*Thursday*, 9 *in the morning.*

"I have this minute received Mr. Godolphin's letter, and have sent to Mr. Horto's, and do hope for what is desired, which this messenger will bring. I hope Dr. Haines and Dr. Coladon got to you early this morning.

"I am so troubled at the sad condition this poor child seems to be in, that I know not what I do. I pray God to give you some comfort in this great affliction. If you think any thing under heaven can be done, pray let me know it, or if you think my coming can be of the least use let me know it. I beg I may hear as often as possible, for I have no thought but what is at Cambridge.

"Medicines are sent by the doctors. I shall be impatient to the last degree till I hear from you."

"*Thursday night.*

"I writ to you this morning, and was in hopes I should have heard again before this time, for I hope the doctors were with you early this morning. If we must be so unhappy as to lose this poor child, I pray God to enable us both to behave ourselves with that resignation which we ought to do. If this uneasiness which I now lie under should last long, I think I could not live. For God's sake, if there be any hope of recovery let me know it."

The disorder rapidly increasing, the disconsolate father hurried to Cambridge, within a few hours after he had written this letter, and arrived only in time to close the eyes of his beloved son, who died on the morning of Saturday the 20th of Feb-

ruary. His remains were interred in the chapel of King's College, where a monument is dedicated to his memory, with an appropriate inscription, expressive of his amiable qualities, both of person and mind, and the inconsolable affliction of his parents.

No youth ever sunk into the grave amidst a more general expression of regret, or in circumstances more afflicting to his family. From the numerous letters of condolence which testify the sympathy of the queen and the sorrow of friends and connections, we select the most interesting.

The Queen to the Duchess of Marlborough.

"*St. James's, Tuesday night.*

"It would have been a great satisfaction to your poor unfortunate faithful Morley, if you would have given me leave to come to St. Alban's, for the unfortunate ought to come to the unfortunate. But since you will not have me, I must content myself as well as I can, till I have the happiness of seeing you here. I know nothing worth writing; but if I did, I should not trouble you with it, being sure no sort of news can be agreeable to your dear heavy heart. God Almighty bless and comfort my dear Mrs. Freeman, and be assured, I will live and die sincerely yours."

Mrs. Burnet to the Duchess of Marlborough.

"*Feb.* 26. — Since from the first moment's fear of your present affliction, I have borne a very painful and sensible share in it, forgive me if I err in presuming too much on the liberties you have formerly allowed me. I can say nothing to lessen the misfortune. It was as great as it could well be,

because the person was as excellent, and perhaps has therefore got an early dismission from the certain infelicities and almost unavoidable irregularities of a long life. Why should we wish those we love to be long tossed in storms, and in danger of an eternal shipwreck, rather than that they should make a short, secure and pleasant voyage to an everlasting state of joy and satisfaction, where they want us not, and gain an advantage, though we suffer by a short absence. I know your grace wants not the feeble helps I am capable to bring, yet permit me to recommend one very reasonable reflection, and to beg you to recall it often, which is the many, very many blessings you have still remaining. To be yet one of the most fortunate persons in the world, is a subject for great thankfulness to God, though you were once possessed of a greater degree of happiness. To have not only the favour, but so far as the distance permits, the friendship of a most excellent queen; a husband you love, and worthy of it; children so remarkably good and amiable, and whose alliances and posterity give such just hopes of all that is desirable for the future, are such uncommon bounties of Providence, that great as your loss is, it will be a degree of ingratitude to God, to let your thoughts so dwell on that, as not to take satisfaction in the large portion of blessings you still enjoy. I am persuaded you know how much submission to God is a duty, as well as the proper use of all afflictions. I have therefore only presumed to remind you of your remaining mercies, having generally observed that persons under present griefs are apt to slight and

overlook their present advantages, which they would have found full satisfaction in, had they never possessed what they lament when withdrawn. May God support you under this great trial, and preserve you from all future causes of sorrow, bless the remains of your gracious family, and give the duke the best success, and a safe and glorious return. This is the hope and constant prayer of your grace's, &c."

Lord Peterborough to the Duke of Marlborough.

" One cannot judge, my lord, what time is necessary to moderate so just a grief, or when one may venture to trouble your grace upon this occasion, but certainly interruption is necessary to melancholy thoughts; and that affliction which cannot be overcome, must be diverted by the necessity of affairs, or some other objects. Being alone, and not admitting friends, must necessarily increase and feed that affliction, which you are obliged to struggle with, since the misfortune is irreparable.

" I know not whether it be a mitigation that every body bears a share in your loss, and that the concern is universal. It shews the value of what you no more enjoy; but such is the state of human affairs, that what we possessed with much satisfaction, we are always in danger of losing with the greatest extremity of regret.

" I heartily wish your grace may find ease in this affliction. Give me leave to say you must seek it, and what satisfaction this world can afford on other occasions."

Lady Sunderland to the Duke of Marlborough.

" The share I have myself in this sad affliction, makes it impossible for me to have a thought of comfort, which is the reason I do not trouble my dear mamma; and indeed the feeling I have for the dearest father and mother that ever was, is inexpressible. I am sure if wishing my life might be a ransom for your never having trouble would hinder it, my dear dear papa and mamma would never feel any. If you think I should not be a trouble to mamma, I should be glad to go down to her; though it will be a melancholy comfort, it will still be one to me, that am, with all passionate tenderness and duty, yours, A. S.

" Lord Sunderland does not write, because he thinks it would be only troublesome, but wishes at any rate he could give you ease in this affliction, in which he has a great share."

The death of so promising and amiable a youth was not merely a subject of sorrow to the friends and connections of the family, but became the theme of public condolence, and awakened the genius of the contemporary poets. Among others, Congreve exercised his muse, in a pastoral called the " Tears of Amaryllis for Amyntas," which was presented to lord Godolphin and to the duchess of Marlborough, by his noble patron lord Halifax. The poet has not unskilfully imitated a classic thought in making violets spring from the ground, watered by the tears of the mourning mother. The original manuscript is preserved among the Blenheim papers, and the poem itself is printed in the works of Congreve, so that it would be needless to

introduce passages from a piece, which has now lost its interest, though at the time it made a deep impression on the minds of the afflicted parents.

A few days after the death of his son, the duke of Marlborough made a new disposition of his property, which was very considerable. He left his wife sole executrix, with all his plate, jewels, and furniture, and an additional jointure of £2000 a-year, and the estate of St. Alban's, with the manor of Sandridge, which belonged to her family, to descend to one of her children or grand-children. Should he, to use his own expression, be blessed with a son, he left him the bulk of his fortune, but if not, he entreated the queen to create his son-in-law, Mr. Godolphin, earl of Marlborough, on the condition that he assumed the name and arms of Churchill. To him and to his heirs male by lady Harriet, he bequeathed the greater part of his property, with remainder in tail male, to the second son of his second daughter by lord Sunderland, and to the second son of his third daughter Elizabeth, by the earl of Bridgewater, and finally to the second son of his fourth daughter Mary, should she marry. He made some additions to the respective portions of his daughters, and assigned jointures to his daughters and grand-daughters, in failure of male issue to himself, or other contingencies which were specified.*

As this will could not be drawn up in sufficient time to be executed before his departure, it was sent

* The duke of Marlborough to his solicitor, Mr. Guidott, Feb. 23. 1703.

after him to the continent. Hearing that the packet by which it was returned, was taken on the passage, he testified peculiar anxiety to have another copy without delay. In a letter to the duchess, dated April 23, he observed, "By the Antwerp Gazette, we are told that captain Saunders' yacht is taken; I hope it is not true. If it should be, you must make Mr. Guidott send me a copy of my will, that I may sign it, for I sent my will by captain Saunders to my lord treasurer. If it should be lost, I beg there may be no time lost in sending me another; for I shall be very uneasy till I have signed it, for fear an accident might happen to me, by which I might be deprived of letting the world see the kindness and esteem I have for you."

The death of the marquess of Blandford suspended the duke's journey, but after the first paroxysm of grief had subsided, the important occupations in which he was engaged, contributed to divert, though they could not soothe the agony of his mind. In the beginning of March he departed for the continent, where his presence was anxiously expected, with a heavy heart, though with undiminished zeal for the public service.

During the progress of the campaign, the tender recollection of his lost son frequently intruded itself on his mind, and the feelings of a father continually break forth in his correspondence. In a letter to Godolphin dated Cologne, April 9, he writes: —

"I have this day seen a very great procession, and the thoughts how pleased poor lord Churchill would have been with such a sight, have added

very much to my uneasiness. Since it has pleased God to take him, I do wish from my soul I could think less of him."

The loss of the amiable youth cemented still more strongly the affection of the mourning parents. It subdued for a time the captious temper of the duchess, and gave new strength to the tenderness of her lord. From the Hague he wrote immediately on his arrival: —

"*March* 16–27.—I received this morning two of your dear letters, which I read with all the pleasure imaginable. They were so very kind, that if it be possible you are dearer to me ten thousand times than ever you were. I am so entirely yours, that if I might have all the world given me, I could not be happy but in your love."

"*Camp before Bonn, April* 20. 1703.

"If you had not positively desired that I would always burn your letters, I should have been very glad to have kept your dear letter of the 9th, it was so very kind, and particularly so upon the subject of our living quietly together, till which happy time comes I am sure I cannot be contented; and then I do flatter myself I should live with as much satisfaction as I am capable of. I wish I could recall twenty years past, I do assure you, for no other reason but that I might in probability have longer time, and be the better able to convince you how truly sensible I am at this time of your kindness, which is the only real comfort of my life * * * [part effaced] * * * * * * and whilst you are kind, besides the many blessings it

brings me, I cannot but hope we shall yet have a son, which are my daily prayers."

His anxiety indeed to perpetuate his name and honours, appears from the eagerness with which he seized the least shadow of a hope that the place of his lost son might yet be supplied. To the duchess he observes, in a letter dated Friday, June 3. "What troubles me in all this time is your telling me that you do not look well. Pray let me have, in every one of your letters, an account how you do. If it should prove such a sickness as that I might pity you, but not be sorry for it, it might yet make me have ambition. But if your sickness should really be for want of health, it would render me the unhappiest man living."

In several of his letters he expresses the warmest exultation at the prospect of male issue. "I have just now," he writes, "received your letters of the 6th. What you say to me of yourself gave me so much joy, that if any company had been by, when I read your letter, they must have observed a great alteration in me."

The uncertain state of the duchess's health, however, frustrated these expectations, and drew from him the tenderest expressions of sympathy and concern.

"*Thys, May 27.—June 7.*

"I have had yours of the 18th, by which I find you were uneasy at my having the head-ache. It was your earnest desire obliges me to let you know when I have those little inconveniences of the head-ache, which are but too natural to me; but if you will not promise me to look upon my sick-

nesses as you used to do, by knowing I am sick one day, and well another, I must not be punctual in acquainting you when I am uneasy; for I would be just to you, and not make you uneasy. I think you are very happy in having dear lady Mary with you. I should esteem myself so, if she could be sometimes for an hour with me; for the greatest ease I now have, is sometimes sitting for an hour in my chair alone, and thinking of the happiness I may yet have, of living quietly with you, which is the greatest I propose to myself in this world."

"*Val notre Dame.*

"I am so very uneasy since I received yours of the 23d of the last month, that I shall have no rest till I hear again from you, for your health is much dearer to me than my own. It is impossible for me to express what I feel, having seen by my lord treasurer of the same post, that he thought you very far from being well. For God's sake let me know exactly how you are; and if you think my being with you can do you any good, you shall quickly see you are much dearer to me than fame, or whatever the world can say; for, should you do otherwise than well, I were the unhappiest man living. We invested Huy yesterday, and I am afraid it will be a fortnight before we shall be masters of the castle. I pray God your next may put me more at ease than I am at this present."

"*Op-heeren, August* 2.—I have received yours of the 23d, which has given me, as you may easily believe, a good deal of trouble. I beg you will be so kind and just to me, as to believe the truth of my heart, that my greatest concern is for that

of your own dear health. It was a great pleasure to me when I thought that we should be blessed with more children; but as all my happiness centers in living quietly with you, I do conjure you, by all the kindness I have for you, which is as much as ever man had for woman, that you will take the best advice you can for your health, and then follow exactly what shall be prescribed for you, and I do hope you will be so good as to let me have an exact account of it, and what the physicians' opinions are. If I were with you I would endeavour to persuade you to think as little as is possible of worldly business, and to be very regular in your diet, which I should hope would set you right in a very little time, for you have naturally a very good constitution. You and I have great reason to bless God for all we have, so that we must not repine at his taking our poor child from us, but bless and praise him for what his goodness leaves us; and I do beseech him, with all my heart and soul, that he would comfort and strengthen both you and me, not only to bear this, but any other correction that he shall think fit to lay on us. The use I think we should make of this his correction is, that our chiefest time should be spent in reconciling ourselves to him, and having in our minds always that we may not have long to live in this world. I do not mean by this that we should live retired from the world; for I am persuaded that, by living in the world, one may do much more good than by being out of it, but at the same time to live so as that one should cheerfully die when it shall be his pleasure to call for

us. I am very sensible of my own frailties; but if I can be ever so happy as to be always with you, and that you comfort and assist me in these my thoughts, I am then persuaded I should be as happy and contented as it is possible to be in this world; for I know we should both agree, next to our duty to God, to do what we ought for the queen's service."

Not long before the period of this domestic calamity, he had united his third daughter, lady Elizabeth, then in her seventeenth year, with Scroop Egerton, earl of Bridgewater. This alliance gave the queen an opportunity of testifying her regard to the family; and in a letter to the duchess, she offers to confer on the bride a portion of £10,000.

"*Friday morning.*

"My lord Bridgewater being in haste to be married, I cannot any longer delay telling my dear Mrs. Freeman what I have intended a great while, that I hope she will now give me leave to do what I had a mind to do when dear lady Harriet was married; and let me speak to lord treasurer about it, when I see him, that your poor unfortunate faithful Morley may not be any occasion of delay to other people's happiness."

The only daughter remaining unmarried was lady Mary, who had now reached her sixteenth year. She was exquisitely beautiful, lively in temper, and no less amiable in mind than elegant in person. She enjoyed, in a peculiar degree, the affection of her parents, to whom she was doubly endeared by their recent loss, and is frequently

mentioned by the duke in his letters, in the warmest terms of parental tenderness.

At this early period she attracted many admirers, and, among the rest, the earl of Huntingdon and lord Tullybardine, son of the earl of Cromartie; but their suit was fruitless. Her hand was also sought by the eccentric earl of Peterborough, for his son lord Mordaunt; but the duke objected to the licentious character and irregular habits of the young nobleman.

Shortly after a similar proposal was made by the family of Montagu, in favour of viscount Mounthermer, son of Ralph, earl of Montagu. But although this connection was not disapproved, yet, from the youth of the parties, and the hesitation of the lady herself, the match did not take place till the ensuing year. The queen endowed the bride with the same portion as her sister lady Elizabeth, and soon after the father was created duke of Montagu, by the interest of Marlborough, and the son obtained the reversion of the place of great master of the wardrobe, held by his father.

CHAPTER 16.

1703.

Accession of Portugal to the confederacy.—Insurrection in the Cevennes.—State of the military affairs, and extensive plans of the french court.—Arrival of Marlborough at the Hague.—Operations from the commencement of the campaign to the surrender of Bonn.

Before we commence the narrative of this campaign, it will be proper to advert to some events, which affected the interests and influenced the conduct of the allies.

The king of Portugal, after acknowledging Philip as king of Spain, seized the first opportunity to resume his natural connections, and secretly concluded a treaty with England, which was the ground-work of a general alliance with the confederate powers. He recognised the rights of the archduke Charles to the spanish throne, and not only agreed to receive a combined army of english and dutch, to support his pretensions, but concluded a subsidiary treaty, for bringing into the field 28,000 Portuguese. This alliance opened the most vulnerable part of the frontier to an attack by land; and afforded the means of weakening the efforts of France in other quarters, by drawing off a considerable portion of her troops to main-

tain the contest for the spanish crown on spanish ground.

This valuable acquisition to the confederacy, however, increased the difficulties and labours of Marlborough, by whom the military arrangements were principally directed, and who was charged with the vexatious office of obtaining troops from the Dutch, the emperor, and the german states, at the time when his own plans occupied so much of his attention, and the operations in the Netherlands required so great a proportion of force. It proved also the source of other embarrassments, because it furnished the discontented of both parties in England with new arguments for a defensive system in the Netherlands, and for a vigorous effort in the country, which was the primary object of the war. Nor were the subordinate arrangements less perplexing; for he was exposed to endless importunities in the choice of generals and officers, and was perpetually harassed by the captious spirit of the Portuguese court. His correspondence during the whole campaign shews the extreme attention which he paid to the transactions with Portugal, the efforts he made to give energy to this distant branch of the war, and the odium he encountered in settling the appointment of officers. After long importunities from lord Rivers and other claimants, the command of the british troops, at his recommendation, was conferred on the duke of Schomberg, whose military talents, knowledge of languages, and conciliating temper, seemed to fit him for the office. Marlborough consented also to furnish a considerable

detachment from the army in the Netherlands, to complete the expedition which was destined to act in Portugal.

Another event of some moment to the allies, was an insurrection of the protestants in the Cevennes, who were driven to desperation by the intolerance of the french government. The importance of this commotion, in a mountainous country, bordering on the frontier of Catalonia, and where regular troops could scarcely act, was duly appreciated, and Marlborough took an active share in devising means to foment and support the insurrection. He experienced, however, much opposition from Nottingham and the other partisans of passive obedience, who expatiated on the injustice and impolicy of assisting rebel subjects against their legitimate sovereign. This opposition was over-ruled by the more liberal part of the cabinet, and not only were supplies of arms and ammunition forwarded by a combined fleet, which was dispatched to the Mediterranean, but measures were adopted for establishing a direct communication with these persecuted people, whose example appeared likely to spread, and whose efforts diverted a considerable body of the enemy's troops from the principal theatre of action.

The grand operations of the war now claim attention. We have already observed, that towards the close of the preceding campaign, the elector of Bavaria had declared in favour of France, and by surprising Ulm, had opened a communication with the armies on the Upper Rhine. To favour his efforts, marshal Villars, on the 14th of October,

defeated the margrave of Baden at Friedlingen, and cleared the passages leading to the Black Forest; while on the other hand, Tallard extended his force along the Rhine and Moselle, and in the course of a few days reduced Treves and Traerbach. The German troops were thus not only precluded from profiting by the reduction of Landau, but being circumscribed on both flanks, took up an exposed and dangerous position, behind the lines of Stolhoffen.

In Italy the campaign of 1702 had also closed to the disadvantage of the allies. Eugene, after failing in an attempt to surprise Cremona, the head quarters of the french army, had blockaded Mantua. But at this moment the duke of Savoy, who had incurred the suspicion of the french monarch, was superseded in the supreme command by the duke of Vendome. The new general changed the character of the war. On the 26th of July he defeated a detachment of Austrians at Santa Vittoria, and foiled the efforts of Eugene to establish himself south of the Po. The dubious battle of Luzzara, terminated to the disadvantage of the Austrians; for it led to the loss of Luzzara, and Guastalla, and rendered the situation of Eugene scarcely less critical than that of the margrave of Baden. Besides the difficulty and uncertainty of his communication with the austrian territories, he was confined between the Secchia and the Po, a narrow and broken tract of country, which was nearly exhausted by the preceding operations.

In 1703 the war accordingly assumed a new

aspect and direction. The french monarch formed the design of recovering his losses in the preceding year, by offensive operations of the most vigorous kind in all quarters. Marshal Villeroy, who commanded in Flanders, was to open the campaign early in the spring by reducing the places on the Meuse, and again threatening the dutch frontier. While the attention of the maritime powers was engaged by this aggression, a great and decisive effort was to be made against the emperor. As the Bourbon troops on one hand commanded the greater part of Italy, and on the other were supported by the co-operation of the electors of Cologne and Bavaria in the very heart of the empire, it was intended to penetrate from the Upper Rhine, through the defiles of the Black Forest, and to join the Bavarians; while the united forces of France and Savoy opened a way through the mountains of the Tyrol. These combined forces, thus collected between the Inn and the Danube, were to direct their march to Vienna, and being supported by the hungarian insurgents, to obliterate by a single effort the glory of the austrian name.

In pursuance of this grand and extensive design, Villars drew the army of the Upper Rhine from their cantonments in winter, passed under the cannon of Friburg, broke up the quarters of the Germans, and on the 9th of March reduced Kehl, after a siege of thirteen days. Having secured this important passage, he returned across the Rhine to recruit and refresh his troops. On the approach of spring, the french in this quarter were

divided into two bodies; one under Tallard threatened the lines of Stolhoffen, and kept the prince of Baden in check; while the other was led by Villars through the Black Forest, and descended into the plains of Bavaria. At the same time the elector defeated and drove the austrian troops beyond the Inn and the Danube, reduced Neuburg and Ratisbon, and then drawing towards the mountains, which border his country on the west, effected on the 12th of May, a junction with Villars, at Dutlingen.

The enterprise against Austria was to be seconded by efforts no less bold and vigorous on the side of the Netherlands. Trusting in the usual dilatoriness of the dutch, and calculating on the tardiness, which generally marks the operations of an army, collected from different countries, Villeroy had matured the requisite preparations, and hoped to reduce Liege before the allies could take the field. The recovery of the other fortresses on the Meuse was considered as the natural result of this primary advantage, and before the close of the campaign it was confidently expected that the commander, who in the preceding year had compelled a french army to retrace its steps, would find his efforts limited to the protection of the dutch frontier.

At the moment when the operations on the Upper Rhine announced the developement of this vast design, Marlborough departed from England and reached the Hague on the 17th of March. The death of the prince of Saarbruck and of the earl of Athlone, relieved him from the contentions of two rivals; but other competitors arose, though

of inferior rank and influence. These were Overkirk, Opdam, and Slangenberg. In the first, age had tempered, but not extinguished the fire of youth; the second was distinguished neither by talents nor activity; and the third was brave and skilful, but of so captious and overbearing a spirit, that he had remained unemployed during the latter part of William's reign. We may therefore ascribe the appointment of Overkirk, as chief in command of the dutch troops, to the influence of Marlborough, who considered him not only as the most able, but as the most tractable coadjutor. To prevent the effects of rivalry, Slangenberg was to be left on the side of the Scheld, Opdam to be employed in the siege of Bonn, and Overkirk to act with the main army.

This necessary arrangement being accomplished, Marlborough visited the troops quartered in the different places of Dutch Brabant, to examine their condition, and accelerate their equipment. Returning to the Hague, he exerted himself in maturing the ulterior preparations, and successfully concluded a negotiation for retaining the prussian auxiliaries in the service.

Although detained in England by the death of his son, such a severe domestic affliction had not diverted his attention from military duties. By his advice Rheinberg had been reduced by the prussians during the winter, and the capture of this fortress was followed by the blockade of Guelder, the only place still held by the enemy in Spanish Guelderland.

His arrival at the Hague infused activity into

the dutch government. He had formed an extensive plan for the invasion of French Flanders and Brabant; but in this, as in other designs, his genius was shackled by the timidity of the States. To sooth their alarms he reluctantly consented to open the campaign with the siege of Bonn. Of this enterprise he thus expresses his opinion, in a letter to Godolphin.

"*March* 23.–*April* 3.—I do not doubt but we shall begin with Bonn, for they flatter themselves that the elector will capitulate, rather than venture to have his town ruined. I wish it may prove so; for otherwise it will cost us a great many men and a good deal of time, which we might spend more usefully in Brabant, now that a great many of their troops are gone towards Germany."

Having completed his arrangements at the Hague, Marlborough repaired to Nimeguen, to concert with Cohorn the plan and preparations for the intended siege. Then passing by Venloo, Ruremond, and Maestricht, to ascertain the state of the places on the Meuse, he inspected Liege, and held a conference with the imperial minister, count Sinzendorf, on the affairs of Germany. Crossing the country to Cologne, he was bitterly disappointed at the backwardness of the preparations for the reduction of Bonn, and no less chagrined at the proposal of Cohorn to defer it till the close of the year. His own language will best shew his sentiments, in his letters to Godolphin.

"*Cologne April*, 9–20.—Since my arrival here yesterday, I have had a good deal of spleen; for instead of finding every thing ready, there are none

of the boats with the ammunition and cannon yet come; so that M. Cohorn has proposed to me to let the siege alone till the end of the year. You know, in my opinion, I was never fond of this siege, but it has made so much noise, that I think it would be scandalous to avoid making it now, so that I have given the orders for investing it next Wednesday, in hopes that most things will be come by that time. The news is so ill from Germany, that I am afraid we shall make a very sorry end of this campaign, especially if we should be so unhappy as to meet with great difficulties in this siege."

" *April* 13–24.—Our news from Germany continues to be very ill, which gives us very melancholy thoughts on this side. The town of Bonn should have been attacked before now, but that we have been disappointed in every thing. However, all the troops will be there to-morrow. I go from hence at the same time, and shall press the siege all that in me lies, for I shall be very uneasy till I am with the great army, hoping we may have time to do what is at my heart. After which we shall be the better able to defend ourselves against the french, when they shall think fit to be strong."

Notwithstanding the obstructions with which he had to struggle, Marlborough drew his troops from their quarters with his usual diligence; and, to the surprise of the enemy, before the 2d of April, he assembled an army, not only of sufficient force to protect Liege, but also to execute the intended enterprise on Bonn. Having consigned to Overkirk the command of a corps of observation distributed

along the Meuse, between Liege and Maestricht, he proceeded towards Bonn, with a force of 40 battalions and 60 squadrons, and a train of 100 pieces of artillery. He himself arranged the quarters of the troops; and to accelerate the reduction of the place by a vigorous effort, formed the plan of three different attacks. The first, under Cohorn, was to be directed against the fort on the other side of the Rhine, and the second and third against the city and outworks, under the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel and general Fagel. The preparations were so rapidly matured, that the trenches were opened on the 3d of May.

Meanwhile the french, unwilling to remain on the defensive, resorted to the usual expedients for obstructing the operations of the siege. They assembled their troops in the utmost haste, and advanced against the army of Overkirk. But they were not sufficiently prompt to effect their purpose; for the approaches against Bonn were pushed with such rapidity, that the fort was taken on the 9th. The capture of this important work hastened the reduction of the place. Although the marquis d'Allegre, who was intrusted with the defence, made as vigorous a resistance as his means permitted, he was reduced to propose a capitulation on the 15th of May.

"I have this minute," writes the duke to Godolphin, "signed the capitulation of Bonn, and I think if we had not been so uneasy as we are at what is doing on the Meuse, we might in four or five days more have made this garrison prisoners of war; but as it is, we have only stopped a german

regiment and two independent companies. I stay this afternoon to give such orders as are absolutely necessary, and hope to be early on Friday with the army on the Meuse. The garrison here is to march out the same day, so that I shall not see them. Having been a good deal disturbed these two last nights, my head aches very much, so that you will excuse me if I say no more, but refer you to the capitulation sent to Mr. Secretary." *

* Camp before Bonn, May 5–16. 1703.

CHAPTER 17.

1703.

Military operations after the surrender of Bonn. — Grand plan for the attack of Antwerp and Ostend — Foiled by the misconduct of the dutch generals. — Defeat of Opdam at Ekeren. — Proposal of Marlborough to resume the intended attack — Again disappointed by the dutch generals. — Return to the Meuse.

Leaving a detachment to take possession of Bonn, Marlborough hastened to the succour of Overkirk, who was threatened by a superior force. On the 17th of May he effected the junction, and established his head quarters at Hoechst, a monastery in the vicinity of Maestricht.

He now resumed with redoubled zeal the plan he had formed, before he was compelled to undertake the siege of Bonn, which was, by a well-combined and rapid movement, to transfer the war into the heart of Brabant and West Flanders. Indeed, before the termination of the siege, the dutch generals, Cohorn, Spaar, and Opdam, had been dispatched to assume the command in the district of Bergen-op-Zoom, and accelerate the necessary preparations. Collaterally with this design a scheme was formed in England, and approved by the general, to alarm the french coast by a descent near Dieppe; for which purpose troops were collected

at Portsmouth, and were to be joined by a reinforcement from Holland. Of this extensive system of operation we find a hint in his letter to Godolphin, from the camp near Maestricht, May 8–19.

"I shall to-morrow send an express to the Hague to see how far they have prepared *for what I call the great design;* so that we may not lose time in endeavouring to put it in execution. Before I left Bonn, measures were taken for the embarking 20 battalions of foot, if it be possible to get boats enough, and 21 squadrons of horse are to march the nearest way to Bergen-op-Zoom, where they are to join the 20 battalions that go by water. These troops are to take the most advantageous post near Antwerp, after which there will be care taken to join more troops to them. If this design of Antwerp can be brought to perfection, I hope we shall make it very uneasy for them to protect Brussels and the rest of their great towns. I am speaking as if we were masters of Antwerp, but as yet the two marshals threaten."

In the mean while Marlborough endeavoured to engross the attention of the french commanders, and by offensive movements to prevent them from detaching succours to the intended point of attack. After reviewing and organising the army, which amounted to 59 battalions, and 129 squadrons, he broke up his camp, traversed the Yaar under the walls of Maestricht, and directing his march towards the heights of Hautain, which stretch between that river and the Meuse, he nearly surprised a considerable part of the enemy's army, who were foraging on the spot. His unex-

pected approach alarmed the french. Leaving two battalions to destroy the gates and works of Tongres, they made so precipitate a retreat, that when the confederates reached the camp of Thys, they had already gained an advance of two leagues.

His laudable zeal was not, however, seconded by those with whom he was obliged to act. Instead of fulfilling his orders for the invasion of West Flanders, Cohorn, to whom the superintendence of the previous arrangements was consigned, obtained the consent of the States to employ the troops on that frontier, in making an irruption into the country of Waes, where he hoped to levy large contributions. Marlborough, whose plan had embraced the reduction of Antwerp and Ostend, saw with regret that all his views would be frustrated, if this imprudent change was suffered to take effect; and thus expresses his vexation to Godolphin.

" *Camp of Thys, May* 20-31.

" I am afraid the diversion M. Cohorn is gone to make in Flanders, will not oblige them to make any great detachment; for his design is not on Ostend, as I desired, but to force their lines, by which he will settle a good deal of contribution, which these people like but too well; for it is certain if they had taken Ostend, it would have been of great use to the common cause, and they might easily afterwards have settled the contributions; so that, had I been at the Hague, I am very confident they would have preferred the taking of Ostend before that of forcing the lines.

" It is no wonder that Cohorn is for forcing the

lines; for as he is governor of West Flanders, he has the tenths of all the contributions. He is also afraid that if we should besiege Huy, the french would take that opportunity of sending so many men as would hinder him from executing his design; so that he has begged of me to undertake nothing, but keeping as near to the french army as is possible till his expedition is over. After which we are to endeavour to take post, so as that we may have it in our power to make the siege of Antwerp.

" At this time the strength of the french army is 118 squadrons and 61 battalions; ours consists of 125 squadrons and 59 battalions: but our battalions are stronger than theirs, so that I think we have a good deal the superiority, which is very plainly the opinion of the french, since they always decamp when we come near them."

The affairs of the confederacy on the Upper Rhine were not in a more encouraging posture, than those in the Netherlands, as from the success of the french and bavarians, the most pressing demands for succours were made both in England and Holland. Marlborough himself was too well acquainted with the inefficiency of the german troops, and the tardiness of german generals, to acquiesce in this application. He strongly remonstrated against any reduction of his own army, which he observed " would only answer the purpose of bringing things here into the same condition as they are there:" and he insisted with great warmth on the impolicy of granting any farther reinforce-

ment than 20 battalions and 8 squadrons, which had been already detached for that quarter.*

Notwithstanding these discouragements he did not relax in his design; but directing his views to Antwerp and Ostend, he communicated new instructions to Cohorn.

On this subject he again writes in terms of confidence to Godolphin from the camp of Thys.

June 7. After expressing a sanguine hope that he should be master of Antwerp by the 10th of July, O. S. he adds, "My heart is so set upon the taking of Ostend, that if I find it is practicable, I hope in due time I shall have the queen's assistance in having that place attacked. But of this no resolution must be taken till we first see what we can do with Antwerp; for I think the french will venture very much to hinder our taking that place. * * * I have not been out of my chamber till Saturday night, having been very much out of order, but I hope in God it is now all over."

In conformity with these views, he broke up from Thys on the 20th, and moved to Hanef; but the enemy again catching the alarm, made a hasty retreat to a position on the Mehaigne, between Tourine and Avesnes, within half a mile of their lines. We may judge of his feelings at this moment, from the tenor of his correspondence to lord Godolphin.

"*Hanef, June* 3–14. — I think we might here have made a very good campaign, but we have already lost time; so that I am not in very good hu-

* To lord Godolphin, Thys, May 24. June 4. 1705.

mour, but I endeavour all I can not to let it be seen. If this army can get to Brabant, I shall have a mind to go to the Hague for a day or two, it being impossible to write all that is necessary to tell them for the good of the common cause, but pray let nobody know this but the queen and prince."

"*June* 7–18. — I writ yesterday to Cohorn, by which you will see I have not given over the thoughts of Ostend. Every thing goes now so very ill in Germany, that I wish we were able to spare them such a detachment as might do them good. We have now above 1000 men sick, and as the season advances for fruit, we must expect much greater numbers, so that I have directed Cardonnel to write, that the poundage might be returned over, for you know it is the only fund the parliament has left to be applied to the hospitals; so that I beg you will be so charitable as to give directions for it.

"I know not where the french get their men, but it is certain they have six battalions in their army more than we have, though most of ours are stronger than theirs."

"*June* 14–25. 1703. — Since my last I have had none from England. I have pressed the siege of Ostend so much at the Hague, that they have consented to it, provided M. Cohorn will undertake it. I have also sent Troignée, the governor of Liege, with my reasons to Cohorn for that siege. As soon as I know his resolution, you shall be sure to have it; for if it be undertaken, the english and dutch ships must hinder any succours by sea. If

we meet with no obstruction in our march to-morrow, I hope not only to make the french decamp, but to oblige them to a battle, or retire behind their lines. I think their interest is not to venture a battle, but they having made no detachment, most of our generals think they intend it. I am now by my temper so inclined to quietness, that you will believe me when I assure you, that no ambition of my own inclines me to wish a battle, but with the blessing of God, I think it would be of far greater advantage to the common cause, than the taking of twenty towns, so that as far as I can influence, I shall be far from avoiding it."

Meanwhile the preparations for the grand attack had been matured, the troops which were to co-operate being collected at their respective posts.

Besides the lines already described as extending from Antwerp south-eastward to the Mehaigne, the french had formed another series of fortifications on the verge of the frontier, stretching from Antwerp towards Ostend, and passing to the south of Hulst. To maintain these defences they had established two flying camps, one under the marquis of Bedmar near Antwerp, the other under the count de la Motte, in the vicinity of Bruges.

According to the plan of attack, Spaar advanced into the district of Hulst, to occupy the attention of the enemy in that quarter, and hold la Motte in check. Cohorn was established near Stabroek, east of the Scheld, to maintain a communication on one hand with Spaar, and on the other to support a body of troops collected under Opdam at Bergen-op-Zoom, who were suddenly to advance

and surprise Antwerp, or at least to take up a position within the line by which it was covered. Marlborough himself was to harass and detain the main army, and having gained the advance by a rapid movement, to enter the lines between Lierre and Antwerp. He would thus have effected a junction with the dutch, interposed his army between the different bodies of the enemy, and after the reduction of Antwerp would have crowned the enterprise by an attack on Ostend.

As he had announced in his letter from Hanef, he broke up his camp during the night of the 26th, passed the Yaar, near the castle of Oleye, and advanced to Opheer. This movement, which was no less rapid than secret, threw the enemy into the utmost consternation. In momentary expectation of an attack, they remained the whole night under arms, and having ascertained the direction of Marlborough's march, they drew in the utmost haste to the strong ground near Landen.

On the 28th the confederates proceeded to Borchloen, and on the 29th to Hasselt; the enemy at the same time moving by Landen to Diest. In the course of the march, Marlborough wrote to the duchess.

"*June* 17–28. — I have not time to answer your dear kind letter of the 11th. I was on horseback from twelve o'clock at night till four in the afternoon yesterday, and have again marched this day. Since we had no action yesterday, I believe we shall have none this campaign, for the french are now in a very strong country, and can go behind their lines when they please. Pardon the short-

ness of this letter, from a man that is heart and soul yours."

Meanwhile the troops destined to co-operate in the design against Antwerp hurried prematurely into action, contrary to their express orders, and the views of the generalissimo. In the afternoon of the 26th the troops of Cohorn traversed the Scheld, to Liefkenshoek, and on the ensuing morning he and Spaar made a combined attack on the enemy's lines. Spaar penetrated to the village of Stecken and Steenbroek, though with considerable loss, and Cohorn forcing the works at the point of Callo, reduced the fort of St. Antony. The same evening Opdam broke up from Bergen-op-Zoom, and on the 29th took up his position at the village of Ekeren, a little to the north of Antwerp.

As the most sanguine hopes had been excited by the extensive preparations for this enterprise, the petty successes of Spaar and Cohorn raised a general exultation in Holland; and the public eagerly expected that the next messenger would announce the fall of Antwerp. But the event proved, that the most profound and accurate combinations are easily frustrated by the slightest want of concert in the subordinate agents; the enemy being too well supplied with intelligence, to be ignorant of the force and movements of the dutch.

Perceiving that the ill-judged irruptions of Cohorn and Spaar had broke the connection between the different bodies, they seized the opportunity to form an enterprise against that of Opdam, which was left without support, and executed it

with equal skill and promptitude. Bedmar, instead of suffering himself to be diverted by incursions, which he was aware could produce no permanent effect, maintained his position, while Boufflers was detached on the 29th from the camp at Diest, with a force of 20,000 men, principally cavalry, and marched in all haste to Antwerp.

In the interim Marlborough redoubled his exertions to gain the advance on the enemy. To accelerate his march, he had detached his artillery and baggage from Tongres through Borchloen with orders to rejoin him at Beringhen, and traversing the Hersch and the Demer over several bridges, he encamped on the 30th, between Beringhen and Coursel. Here he halted on the 1st of July, and his correspondence attests his anxiety and exertions.

Writing to the duchess during this pause, he observes: —

"*Sunday, June* 20–*July* 1. — I have been in so perpetual a hurry, having marched five days together, and sometimes not coming into the camp till eleven or twelve at night, that I have not been able to answer so particularly your two last letters, as I shall always be desirous of doing. We have been obliged for many reasons to rest this day. However, it gives me very little rest, being obliged to have the general officers with me for regulating the next three days' march, so that I am obliged to take this time of writing, although I have several officers in my room talking about me; but as I love you above my life, so my greatest pleasure is writing to you, or hearing from you."

As the enemy broke up to follow their detachment, he again marched on the 2d of July, and encamped between Moll and Balen. In the course of these movements he was apprised of the irruptions of Cohorn and Spaar, and the advance of Opdam to Ekeren. Chagrined at such imprudent attempts, and alarmed for the safety of Opdam, he sent him pressing orders to exert the utmost vigilance, and take up a more secure post, till he could be sustained by the main army. From the camp of Moll and Balen, he writes to Godolphin: —

"*June* 21–*July* 2. 1703. — You will find by my last and this, that we have been in continual motion, the duke of Villeroy having marched with his whole army towards Brabant, so that we are obliged to do the same. He being within his lines, has no want of forage, but our march being over the heaths we have not that plenty. Nor do I believe that when we shall come near the lines that go from Antwerp to Lierre, we shall find forage for any long continuance.

"I am afraid the lucre of having a little contribution from the Païs de Waes, has spoiled the whole design; for I am very sure if we do not force the lines, which I am afraid will be pretty difficult, since all the french army will be there to defend it. * However, this must be done, or the siege of Antwerp be no more thought on * * * If M. Opdam be not upon his guard, he may be beat before we can help him, which will always be

* Something is omitted in the original.

the consequence when troops are divided, so as that the enemy can post themselves between them. But we have given him such timely notice, that if he has not taken a safe camp, he will be very much to blame. The french are very cautious, and the dutch will venture nothing; so that unless it happens by chance, I think there will be no battle.

" * * Since I sealed my letter, we have a report come from Breda, that Opdam is beaten. I pray God it be not so, for he is very capable of having it happen to him."

The event verified these forebodings. Boufflers reached Antwerp on the 30th, and immediately united with Bedmar. Their combined forces filed through the northern gates of the city, and advancing with equal silence and celerity towards Ekeren, they detached a corps to seize Stabroek, the post which Cohorn had imprudently quitted, and cut off the road to Lillo. Although the preceding day Opdam had received warning from Marlborough, and was apprised by his own spies, that a considerable detachment was on its march from the french army, he contented himself with sending his baggage to Bergen-op-Zoom, and preparing for the removal of his camp. He supinely remained, till it was too late to obviate the effects of his negligence. Being apprised that the enemies were advancing in force, he mounted his horse accompanied by a few attendants, and rode towards a cloud of dust, which was raised by the movement of the hostile columns. Discovering his danger, he endeavoured to regain his camp;

but finding all the avenues occupied, he left his troops to their fate, and after wandering the whole day through remote and solitary paths, reached Breda, conveying the disastrous intelligence that his whole force was cut off, and that he himself and his companions had escaped only by accident.

The utmost panic was excited at the Hague by the news of this great and unexpected disaster, and an extraordinary meeting of the States was held at midnight, to deliberate on means for securing Bergen-op-Zoom, and the other places on the frontier. But before the deputies, charged with this commission, could reach their place of destination, intelligence arrived, that after the disgraceful flight of Opdam, general Slangenberg had assumed the command; and by availing himself of the dikes and natural defences of the country, had repulsed the enemy, and effected his retreat to Lillo, with a loss comparatively trifling.

This untoward accident frustrated the whole design, and the only plausible accusation, which has ever been advanced against the well-grounded fame of Marlborough, has been made on this occasion. Not only his enemies, but even his friends considered his line of operation as too extensive, and that he ought either to have succoured Opdam, or to have attacked that part of the enemy's army to which he was opposed, while weakened by so considerable a detachment. The documents which we have submitted to the reader, will, however, prove that the plan of attack was formed with his characteristic ability and judgment; but that the other generals acted in direct contradiction to his

orders; and that after their imprudence had disconcerted the design, Opdam himself had neglected the most urgent injunctions to provide for his own safety, till the main army could advance to give him support.

Marlborough, however, was not discouraged by these repeated disappointments, but resumed with new zeal his design of attacking the french lines, and reducing Antwerp. With this view, he moved his camp to Thielen, on the 5th of July. From thence, accompanied by his principal officers, he repaired to Breda, to concert arrangements with the deputies of the States, and then proceeded to Bergen-op-Zoom, to hold a conference with Cohorn, who was indisposed. Here it was settled that an attack should be made on the lines, and an hundred pieces of artillery were to be furnished from the neighbouring fortresses of Holland. Meanwhile three engineers in disguise were to reconnoitre the state of the enemy's works, and procure information for making the proper dispositions.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, he anticipated new objections; for the deputies and generals belonging to the army which had failed, thought the enterprise too hazardous, and expatiated on the superior force of the enemy. To obviate the effects of these representations with the States, Marlborough wrote to his friend, the pensionary, indicating the intended plan of attack, and urging such arguments as were calculated to shew the probability of complete success. He observed, "I cannot but be of opinion, if we will venture, now that our armies are so near as to be

able to help each other, we should not fail of succeeding. My thoughts on this matter are that baron Spaar should post himself so in Flanders, as might be most advantageous for the carrying on this great design, and that monsieur Cohorn, with such troops as can be spared from thence, should join the army at Lillo, and then both armies should approach each other, so as we might take just measures for the attacking the lines at the same time. If you have a mind to have Antwerp, and a speedy end of the war, you must venture something for it. I have not consulted the generals, so that you must consider this as my single opinion; but if this should be approved by others, and be thought fit to be put in execution, you must then act as the french do, by drawing out of your garrisons all the battalions that are possible; for those that can make the greatest fire will carry this matter. And I think all officers will agree with me, that if they opiniatre the defence of the lines between Antwerp and Lierre, and we should force them, they having a river behind them, it will be next to impossible for them to get off. On the other side, if they should take the resolution not to defend the lines, then the siege may be made with all the ease imaginable. Upon the whole matter, I take the good or bad success of this campaign depends upon the resolution that shall now be taken.

" We have resolved to stay in this camp two or three days, till measures can be taken, so that we may do our best to hinder the enemy from seeing our design till we are ready to act. I cannot end

this letter without assuring you that I verily believe when the french shall see you are positively resolved to attack the lines, they will not dare to defend them; for should they be forced between Antwerp and Lierre, their army must be lost; and how fatal that must be to France, you can best judge. I am confident if you miss this occasion, you will repent it when it is too late." *

New obstructions, however, resulted from the recent failure. A vehement dispute arose among the dutch generals, who strove to throw on each other the blame of their ill success. Opdam laboured to extenuate his own culpable negligence and want of spirit; while Slangenberg, proud of his gallantry and good fortune, redoubled his invectives against all who had incurred his envy; and even presumed to accuse Marlborough of having exposed the dutch troops to defeat, from the mean and selfish motive of jealousy. A quarrel equally violent arose also between Slangenberg and Cohorn, while employed in arrangements for the march of the troops from Lillo. Cohorn, in a fit of resentment, again quitted the army, and the command devolved on Slangenberg.

At this period Marlborough returned to his army, to watch the motions of Villeroy, who, being joined by Boufflers and a reinforcement under Bedmar, had quitted his lines, and advanced to Sandhofen. To maintain the communication with the forces about Lillo, which was in some degree affected by this movement, the british commander,

* Camp at Thielen, July 4–15. 1703.

on the 7th, transferred his camp to Vorstelar; and the french, drawing still nearer to Antwerp, established themselves in the strong position of St. Job.

While Marlborough was labouring to sooth the resentment of Cohorn *, new difficulties arose in another quarter; for instead of the encouragement and support which he expected from the pensionary, he received from him a letter, testifying his fears respecting the intended attack on the lines, and his unwillingness to incur the responsibility attached to the attempt. On this epistle Marlborough observes, "The factions are so great in Holland that the pensionary dares not take any thing upon himself, so that I fear at last things will go wrong for want of a government." †

He was too tenacious of his purpose to yield either to the alarms of his friends, or the contentions and jealousies of those on whom he was obliged to depend. By importunity, he at length extorted the consent of the dutch government for the two armies to unite, and attack the enemy in the position of St. Job. With this view he moved on the 22d of July from Vorstelar to Brecht.

"Being," he writes to lord Godolphin, "to march to-morrow, I begin to write this day, but shall not seal it till I come to the next camp, which is intended to be at Brecht, it being about half a league from the french camp. Our design is, that the troops at Lillo should march at the same time we do, and join us on Tuesday morning early, on

* Letter to Godolphin, Vorstelar, July 8–19.

† To Godolphin, Vorstelar, July 5–16.

the heath, in order to attack the french in their camp, which some pretend to think they will stay in, they having fortified it; but I take it for granted that as soon as they know of our march, they will retire behind their lines; for although they are stronger than we did imagine they could have been, when we shall be joined, we shall be much stronger than they."

After noticing the neglect of the dutch commanders, in making the requisite preparations, he continues:—

"These things make me believe that the attempt is not in earnest intended, although from the Hague they seem very desirous of it, and have given orders to their deputies, that joined the army two days ago, to use their utmost diligence to get all things ready for the attack. I shall be able by my next to let you know positively how far this matter will be attempted; for after our joining upon Tuesday, we shall be so near the lines, that we shall hardly have any forage; so that we must force the lines, or march from them."

In a postscript, written when he had reached the camp, he concludes:—

"I am very glad I wrote thus far yesterday; for I am so tired, having been near fourteen hours on horseback, that I should not have been able to have writ. The french have not marched yet, but I believe they will this night. We shall begin our march at three to-morrow morning; so that, about seven, I hope we shall join the army at Lillo, after which we shall march directly to them, if they continue in their camp. But you may be very

much at your ease; for I think it is one thousand to one they do not stay, for they can be behind their lines in one hour's march."

Marlborough, in conformity with this determination, moved on the 23d of July at three in the morning, and advancing at the head of the cavalry, reached the great heath of Antwerp, where signals were made for the junction of Slangenberg with the troops from Lillo. But at this moment a heavy smoke rising from the camp of the enemy, announced their retreat behind their lines. At ten, Slangenberg appeared, and Marlborough riding forward with an escort of six squadrons, held a conference with him, to settle the disposition of the forces. The junction being effected, the two armies encamped, that of Marlborough between Campthout and Westdown, and that of Slangenberg at Capelle.

As the enemy had declined a battle in the open ground, it was now necessary to adopt a resolution for an attack on their lines. For this purpose a council of war was held at Campthout, the head quarters: all the former objections and difficulties were revived and again discussed; and after a warm debate of five hours, no conclusion was adopted. "I was forced to end it," says the commander, "by desiring that each of them would put their opinions in writing, against nine to-morrow morning. I see enough, I think, to be sure the lines will not be attacked, and that we shall return to the Meuse. I intend to go out to-morrow morning, with a body of horse, in hopes to get near enough to view the lines."

The result of all these deliberations and delays, when it was necessary to act, will be naturally anticipated. The timid and cautious spirits, who had terrified themselves with imaginary difficulties, were not tempted to encounter real obstacles, even by the prospect of decisive success. We describe the event of all these movements and deliberations, in his own words.

" On Friday I went with 4000 horse to see the lines. They let us come so near, that we beat their out-guard home to their barrier, which gave us an opportunity of seeing the lines; which had a fosse of twenty-seven feet broad before them, and the water in it nine feet deep; so that it is resolved that the army return to the Meuse, and in the first place take Huy. Upon the whole matter, if we cannot bring the french to a battle, we shall not do any thing worth being commended. My letter of the 8th, which began with Sir, and was directed by Cardonnel, was intended for you, but was writ by candle-light, as this is; and my eyes are so bad, that I do not see what I do; so that I hope you will excuse me, that I do not answer all in your two letters of the 9th and 13th. We shall begin to march from hence on Thursday." *

Marlborough now measured back his steps to the Meuse, to effect the reduction of Huy, which, though small, was considered as a post of some importance, because it covered Liege, opened the navigation of the Meuse, and facilitated an attack on Namur. He returned nearly in the same direc-

* To lord Godolphin, Campthout, July 15-26. and 19-30. 1703.

tion as he had advanced, bewailing at every halt the disappointments which he had undergone, and forming new hopes of more decisive operations.

From Honthalen he wrote, July 26. to Godolphin. " I am but too much of your mind, that the going back to the Meuse is, as the french expression is, a *pis aller*. But as Cohorn has managed his business for these last six weeks, we had nothing else to do. I know that Huy will make very little noise in the world; however, if we will make the war in this country, it is very convenient for us to have that place. Our superiority is not so great, but that the french may reasonably expect to make us uneasy, when we shall be obliged to divide our forces, as we must do when we make the siege. If they give occasion, I hope we shall venture, by which God may give us more success in three or four hours' time, than we dare promise ourselves.

" That of Antwerp and Ostend have succeeded so ill, that I am afraid of promising, even for Huy; but I shall let you know my thoughts for the remaining part of the campaign, and desire you will let me have your opinion how far I ought to endeavour the executing it; for what I would do cannot be compassed without continuing the campaign as long as ever the season will permit, we having already lost so much time." *

He then states his design, after the reduction of Huy, to force the enemy's lines, or pass the Mehaigne. If they should still decline a battle,

* Honthalen, July 26. 1705.

he purposed to besiege Limburg, and finally to march with a sufficient number of men for the capture of Treves and Traerbach, preparatory to a campaign on the Moselle, which he designed to commence with the attack of Thionville.

Pursuing his march towards the Meuse, Marlborough, on the 15th of August, took up his camp at Val notre Dame, while the enemy moving in a parallel direction behind their lines, established themselves in the position of Wasseige.

CHAPTER 18.

1703.

Political feuds in the english cabinet.—Struggles between the whigs and tories.—Correspondence of the queen, the duchess, and the duke on this subject.—Attempt of the duchess to form a coalition between her husband and the whigs.—Party contentions in Scotland.

While the british commander was agitated by the contending factions in Holland, and the endless jealousies of the dutch generals, which, to use his own expression, "made his life a burthen," his attention was no less distracted with the feuds in the cabinet of England, and the violence of the two hostile parties who divided the parliament and nation, and vied in their censure of his conduct and principles.

We have already shewn that Marlborough and Godolphin, both from habit and principle, had hitherto identified themselves with the tories, and had not cordially favoured the whigs, notwithstanding the support given to the vigorous prosecution of the war. The two friends had indeed manifested a wish to act independently of all party connections, and to entrust the offices of government to moderate, upright, and able men of both denominations; yet in every part of their conduct

we trace a bias towards those with whom they had so long been connected. To this tendency, as well as to the inclinations of the queen, we may attribute the formation of the ministry on a tory basis, with the intermixture of a few whigs, the least distinguished for party zeal and influence.

The majority of the tories, on their admission to power, had warmly professed their attachment to the system of foreign policy adopted by Marlborough, and in particular had pledged themselves to support his vigorous efforts for the diminution of the french power. Their party principles, however, soon regained the ascendancy; and if they did not openly oppose, they secretly thwarted, or at least coldly supported his views. Even in the late session, some of their zealous leaders began to manifest so refractory a spirit, that it was found impossible to carry on the public business, without some alteration of the ministry.

During the preceding winter, Marlborough and Godolphin had deliberated on the most advisable mode of effecting this change. Their principal object was, to obtain the dismission of the earl of Rochester, the great leader of the tories, and the most strenuous opponent of offensive operations, who had assumed a tone of superiority over the other ministers, and attempted to supplant Godolphin at the head of the treasury. The plan which they devised to liberate themselves from so troublesome a colleague, was carried into execution soon after Marlborough returned to the army.

As the near relationship of Rochester to the queen did not permit them to insist on his dismis-

sion, they procured an order for him to repair to his government in Ireland. If he complied, his absence would naturally lessen his means of annoyance; if he disobeyed, they expected that the wounded pride of the queen would prompt her to remove him from his office.

The plan succeeded according to their wishes. Rochester at first haughtily refused to quit the political theatre of London, where he was so prominent a figure; and the order being peremptorily repeated, he resigned in disgust. The government of Ireland was conferred on the duke of Ormond, who, to the advantage of high birth, united great popularity, who was acceptable to the queen, and had gained the esteem of his tory friends by compromising the dispute with Sir George Rooke, on the failure at Cadiz. From this moment Rochester became the leader of the discontented tories, and the principal mover of opposition, though several of his adherents still retained their places, with a view more effectually to embroil the measures of government.

Notwithstanding the disgrace of Rochester, a similar spirit was manifested by the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state. He was a nobleman of high honour and unimpeached integrity, as well as of great diligence and capacity, but deeply imbued with tory principles, both in religion and politics. He was at the same time aspiring, presumptuous, and overbearing. Conscious of his influence with the queen, and his political credit, he hoped to become the leader of the administration, and secretly laboured for the removal of

Godolphin. Though connected with Marlborough by the habits of long intimacy, Nottingham was no less hostile than Rochester to his grand system of foreign policy, and deprecated with equal zeal, the connections which were formed on the continent, as well as the vigorous efforts to which those connections gave rise. Hence, though he held the office of secretary of state, he became the head of an opposition in the ministry. His zeal was stimulated by Rochester, whose natural impetuosity of temper was heightened by a sense of mortified pride, and he found warm adherents in the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Jersey, who were actuated by congenial principles. The views of Nottingham were also warmly seconded by a strong phalanx in the house of commons, at the head of which were his friend and dependent, secretary Hedges, and Sir Edward Seymour, comptroller of the household, member for Somersetshire; a gentleman, who, from family interest and landed property, as well as party zeal and vehemence in debate, had acquired an extraordinary share of influence.

A schism was thus imperceptibly formed in the administration. Clashing interests and discordant views embarrassed the measures of government; Marlborough became the object of invidious reflection or open censure, and a crisis was evidently approaching which must terminate in the exclusion or preponderance of Nottingham and his partisans. Indeed, at an early period in the spring, his conduct had given such dissatisfaction, that

Marlborough in a letter to Godolphin, strongly urges the necessity of his removal.

" If," he observes, " lord Nottingham continues being so impertinent as to join with Sir Edward Seymour and others to obstruct business, I think it were much better to be plain with him, than to suffer him to go on in that way; for by that he will be much abler to do mischief than if he were out; and I am very much mistaken if he will care to part with this place."

Other perplexities, however, arose from this unfortunate feud: Marlborough more deeply felt the defection of his former friends and associates, because it exposed him to the alternative, which he never contemplated without regret, of being thrown into the power of the opposite party. Nor were his apprehensions unfounded; for the whigs, deeming the opportunity too favourable to be neglected, assailed him with importunities, and strongly resented the unwillingness which he manifested to admit more of them into power. Some even adopted the language of their political opponents, clamoured for a defensive system in the Netherlands, and accused him of purposely prolonging the war for the sake of his own advantage. He thus became the common mark for the obloquy of both parties; and while his measures were arraigned, and his exploits decried by the tories, his name was associated with that of Harley in the whig satires and lampoons of the day.

Even at the army he was not beyond the sphere of contention. Godolphin, his constant correspondent, incessantly expatiated on the divisions in the

cabinet and the clamours of party, and overwhelmed his friend with complaints on his own irksome situation, and his unpleasant intercourse with the queen, who assailed him with reproaches whenever he presumed to convey the slightest hint on the necessity of conciliating the whigs. Wearied with censure and contradiction, he at length repeatedly declared his resolution of retiring from a situation in which he could not obtain the support, or even indulgence of either party. The replies of Marlborough prove how deeply he was affected by these lamentations, and the obloquy to which they were both exposed.

" *May* 13.—I find by some of your letters, that 10 (Sir Charles Hedges) has been very unreasonable. I hear so much of the unreasonable animosities of the parties, that I pity you with all my heart. I have very little rest here; but I should have less quiet of mind, if I were obliged to be in your station."

May 31–*June* 11. After adverting to an altercation which had arisen on so petty a subject as the removal of a store-keeper at Carlisle, he adds, " I am so altered in my temper, that when the queen's service will permit me to be quit of this station I am now in, I hope she will be so good as to allow of my meddling with very little business, by which I might be out of the power of the parties, for I am very sure I can please neither.

" I am very sensible, by a letter I have received from lord Nottingham, that there will be an ill use made this winter of the dutch ships coming so late. As much as I hear of the behaviour of lord Not-

tingham, if there were any body proper to be put in his place, he could do less hurt to the business of the queen if he were out, than where he now is. But you can judge of this matter infinitely better than I can do; so that I desire what I say on this subject may go for nothing, unless you are of the same opinion." Writing to the duchess, he also observes, "I agree with you in pitying 51 (himself), who, I am sure, will ever do his utmost against France; but if his misfortune be, that those called his friends be of another mind, as you think they are, they shall never be countenanced by me; nor do I very much care if they or the other party be angry with me, for I have no other thought or ambition left, but that I may be blessed with your kindness and the queen's good opinion."

In several of his letters we find the same complaints against the conduct of Sir Charles Hedges, as against that of Nottingham.

July 22. He writes to Godolphin, "Your thought as to Mr. Methuen, is as certainly right as that 10 (secretary Hedges) will not like it. If you should oblige him in this and in almost every thing he asks (if his temper be what I am told it is), the queen must expect that he will, underhand, endeavour to obstruct every thing, which I am very sorry for, but I am afraid it is true.

"I have just received yours of the 16th, with the two inclosed letters. I do from my heart pity you, and every body that has to do with unreasonable people; for certainly it is much better to row in the gallies than to have to do with such as are very selfish, and misled by every body who

speaks to them, which I believe is the case of the author of your two letters."

Amidst such contentions it was impossible for the duchess to remain indifferent. She not only renewed her efforts to engage her husband in a more cordial union with the whigs, but importuned the queen with her censure of one party and praise of the other, and thus involved him in a new series of embarrassments. Availing herself of the peevish complaints which he incessantly made against the tories, she revived the unpleasant discussion which had already arisen on this subject with the queen, by communicating extracts of his letters, accompanied with remarks of the most acrimonious kind. One letter in particular, in which he had announced his wish to resign, was made the subject of such a commentary, and accompanied with the hint of a similar resolution by lord Godolphin and herself. The effect which these appeals produced on the queen appears from one of her answers to the duchess.

"*Windsor, Saturday.*—The thoughts that both my dear Mrs. Freeman and Mr. Freeman seem to have of retiring, give me no small uneasiness, and therefore I must say something on that subject. It is no wonder at all that people in your posts should be weary of the world, who are so continually troubled with all the hurry and impertinencies of it; but give me leave to say you should a little consider your faithful friends and poor country, which must be ruined if ever you put your melancholy thoughts in execution. As for your poor unfortunate faithful Morley, she could not

bear it; for if ever you should forsake me, I would have nothing more to do with the world, but make another abdication; for what is a crown when the support of it is gone. I never will forsake your dear self, Mr. Freeman, nor Mr. Montgomery*, but always be your constant and faithful friend; and we four must never part, till death mows us down with his impartial hand."

The affectionate language of this letter produced very different effects on the minds of the duke and duchess. He expressed a grateful sense of the queen's goodness, and testified his resolution to encounter the vexations of public life as long as she deemed his services necessary. At the same time, in his correspondence with the duchess, he renewed his declaration that he would never submit to the entanglements of either party.

"*Camp at Hanef, June* 3–14.

"By my last I had not time to give any answer to your two letters of the 23d and 25th of this last month. There is nothing more certain than what you say, that either of the parties would be tyrants if they were let alone; and I am afraid it is as true, that it will be very hard for the queen to prevent it. I think nothing should be omitted to do justice, and then God's will be done. What you say of lord Nottingham concerning the park is very scandalous, but very natural to that person. I wish with all my heart the queen were rid of him, so that she had a good man in his place, which I am afraid is pretty difficult.

* A familiar appellation given to Godolphin in their private correspondence.

"We are bound not to wish for any body's death, but if 14 (Sir Edward Seymour) should die, I am convinced it would be no great loss to the queen nor the nation; and you may be sure the visit intended by 19 (lord Rochester) and his friend could be for no other end than to flatter 14 (Sir Edward Seymour) to do such mischief as they dare not openly own."

The sanguine temper of the duchess was much affected by this mark of the queen's affection, and she flattered herself that little exertion was now wanting to gain a complete victory over the political prejudices of her royal mistress. She therefore teased the queen with her eulogies of the whigs, and her censures of the tories, whom she involved in one common accusation of jacobitism. Deeming also the bias of her husband towards his former friends much lessened by their petulant opposition, she again urged him to coalesce with the whigs, who alone concurred in his views, and to discard an ungrateful faction, equally enemies to his glory, and to his great designs for the good of his country. She even pointed out seven of the tory chiefs, whose continuance in office she declared incompatible with the public welfare.*

Her attempts were, however, far from producing the expected effect. From the queen, though offended with the tories, it drew a justification of their loyalty, and a recrimination of the whigs,

* Six of the seven persons here designated were the earls of Nottingham (42) and Jersey (15), Sir Charles Hedges (10), Sir Edward Seymour (14), the duke of Buckingham, and Sir Nathan Wright, the lord keeper.

whom she charged with holding tenets no less dangerous to the monarchy than to the church. The duke also combated her arguments with his usual tenderness, but testified a decided resolution not to abandon the independent principle on which he had hitherto acted. In a letter to the duchess from the camp of Hanef, June 10. he dwells with peculiar emphasis on this determination.

" I did yesterday receive yours of the 3d, and do agree with you that the seven persons you mention in that letter, do not do the queen that service they ought to do; but I can't but be of the opinion, that if they were out of their places, they would be more capable of doing her hurt. Some of them might, in my opinion, be removed, as 15 (lord Jersey) and 42 (lord Nottingham); but who is there fit for their places? I do protest before God I know of none. I am of your mind, that if the queen spoke to lord Rochester in the manner you mention in your letter, I believe it would make him very cautious; not that I think it would make him honest, but he would be afraid. The conversation that was between lord Rochester and the speaker is no doubt the language that he entertains the whole party with; and if they can once be strong enough to declare which way the war shall be managed, they may ruin England and Holland at their pleasure, and I am afraid may do it in such a manner as may not at first be unpopular; so that the people may be undone before they can see it. I can't say a word for the excusing the dutch for the backwardness of their sea preparations this year; but if that, or any thing else, should produce

a coldness between England and Holland, France would then gain their point, which I hope in God I shall never live to see; for our poor country would then be the miserablest part of all Christendom; for we should not only lose our liberty, but our religion also must be forced, and those gentlemen that would be helping to this, would then be as miserable as others; for the french, when they are the masters, make no distinctions. I could say a great deal upon this subject, but I dare not, for fear of accidents. In short, I think the two parties are so angry, that, to ruin each other, they will make no scruple of venturing the whole."

The officious zeal of the duchess, was not, however, discouraged by this repulse. She renewed her importunities with her husband, offered her mediation with the whigs, and urged that their petulance would easily be restrained by proper representations. But Marlborough disdained an appeal, which he knew would be construed into an application for support, and followed by counter demands. In reply, he testified his concern with unusual feeling, renewed his former declarations with greater warmth, and concluded with expatiating on the fatal consequences which must result from the factious attempts of both parties to thwart and frustrate his military designs.

" *Alderbeesten, Sept.* 30. 1703.

" I see by this last letter, that you have mistaken my meaning in some of my letters; for though I may have complained of some you call your friends, yet it never entered into my thoughts that they should be spoke to in order to have a

better thought of me; for I know they would be as unreasonable as the others in their expectations, if I should seek their friendship: for all parties are alike. And as I have taken my resolution of never doing any hardship to any man whatsoever, I shall by it have a quiet in my own mind; not valuing nor desiring to be a favourite to either of them. For, in the humour I am now in, and that I hope in God I shall ever be of, I think both parties unreasonable and unjust. I am very sensible of several errors I have committed; but I must not endeavour to mend them by running into greater: so that I shall make complaints to neither, but endeavour to recommend myself to the world by my sincere intentions of governing all my actions by what I shall think is for the interest of my queen and country. I hope in God this will agree with what you desire, and then I can have no uneasiness."

In addition to the information conveyed by Godolphin and the duchess, Marlborough received private intelligence from Harley, whose sentiments were congenial to his own. Equally trusted by the moderate whigs and tories, he was enabled to develope their views and wishes. He communicated to the duke the result of his conversations with Nottingham on one side, and with some of the whigs on the other. He stated their respective complaints to turn principally on the mismanagement of the fleet, and on the impolicy of an offensive war in Flanders, and conveyed an intimation which equally marks the spleen and resentment of both; namely, that they concurred in accusing Marlbo-

rough and Godolphin, of fostering designs hostile to the interests of the house of Hanover. To the opinion of Harley, which bore the appearance of candour and impartiality, Marlborough paid the utmost deference, and by his representations was encouraged to persist in the resolution of yielding to the whigs as little as to the tories.

The intelligence, however, made a deep impression; for in sending the letter of Harley to the duchess, he observes, "If both parties agree that the war must not be offensive in this country, I am very much afraid the dutch will not think themselves very safe in our friendship. However, I cannot but be much concerned; for if this country is ruined, we are undone, and then 10 (Sir Charles Hedges) and his friends may succeed, which otherwise is next to impossible. There are a thousand reasons for preserving our friendship with the dutch; for as we save them, so they must preserve us from the arbitrary power of 19 and 1, which must be entirely governed by 3.*

"*May God preserve me and my dearest love from seeing this come to pass;* but if we should quarrel with 24 (the dutch) I fear it might happen."

Notwithstanding his objections to an union with the whigs, the duchess induced lord Sunderland to make overtures in the name of his party, as we learn from a letter of the duke, dated August 1.

* These ciphers cannot all be discovered, but they evidently convey the meaning that the ascendancy of the violent tories would lead to the restoration of the Pretender, and consequently to a dependence on France.

The lines in italics are scratched out with the pen.

" If this finds you at Althorpe, remember me kindly to them all, and tell lord Sunderland that I thank him for his letter, and that I hope I shall always continue in the humour I am now in, that is, to be governed by neither party, but to do what I think is best for England, by which I shall disoblige both parties. But as long as I have quiet in my own mind, I shall not care; for as I had rather be without employments than have them, I shall need none of their protection."

The party feuds which agitated the british parliament and nation, spread with a still more detrimental effect into Scotland. Soon after the accession of Anne, overtures had been made for an union between the two kingdoms, and commissioners had been finally named to carry the design into execution. But an arrangement, which was so likely to produce domestic tranquillity and public benefit, was violently opposed by the jacobites and many of the discontented tories, because it tended to weaken the interest of the Stuart family; and their opposition was fomented by the declamations of the same party in the english parliament. Among the various expedients, to which the enemies of the revolution resorted, for the purpose of embroiling the two kingdoms, was the proposal of a bill in the legislature of Scotland, which, under the title of the Act of Security, was calculated to abridge the established prerogatives of the crown, to limit the choice of a successor, and to throw a vast additional power into the hands of the parliament. The discussions which took place on this act were marked by the utmost virulence; and when the

royal assent was withheld by the queen's commissioner, the commotion almost rose to open rebellion. An act for settling the succession in the house of Hanover was rejected with contempt, and some of the more violent even threatened to move for committing the earl of Marchmont, who had proposed it, to the castle. The instigators of these feuds appeared resolved to extort the assent of the crown to the act of security, by withholding the supplies, and the commissioner with difficulty succeeded in pacifying them, by relinquishing the right of the crown to make peace or war, and promising that they should resume the question in the ensuing session.

These feuds contributed to aggravate the embarrassments which the treasurer and Marlborough encountered from the machinations of contending parties in England; and their correspondence is filled not only with complaints of the difficulties which consequently occurred in the management of domestic affairs; but of the injurious effects which resulted to the confederacy abroad, and particularly of the alarm, jealousy, and lukewarmness which were produced in Holland.

CHAPTER 19.

1703.

Reduction of Huy. — New proposal of Marlborough to force the french lines. — Capture of Limburg and Guelder. — Plan of the french for the invasion of Austria. — Defection of the duke of Savoy from the french to the allies. — The archduke Charles proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna. — Marlborough has an interview with him at Dusseldorf. — Is dissatisfied with the conduct of the dutch. — Arrives at the Hague. — Lands in England. — Receives the new king of Spain. — His parliamentary conduct on the revival of the bill against occasional conformity.

After this detail of the political feuds in which Marlborough was involved during the labours of an arduous campaign, we resume the narrative of military operations.

On the failure of his brilliant designs to accelerate the termination of the war, nothing remained but the comparatively inglorious task of reducing the petty garrisons which clogged the navigation of the Meuse. Accordingly Huy was invested on the 16th of August, and the trenches opened the ensuing night. In a few days, the forts surrounding the place were reduced; and batteries being raised against the castle, the governor was constrained to surrender, on condition that the garrison should be exchanged.

After the capture of Huy, some hesitation prevailed in regard to ulterior operations. In a grand council of war held at the confederate camp of Val notre Dame, the commander in chief resumed his plan, and urged the policy of profiting by the superiority of the allies, to force the weakest part of the french lines, consisting of an accessible space of ground, two leagues and a half in extent, between the source of the Mehaigne and the Meuse. His opinion was warmly supported by the english generals, and those commanding the auxiliary troops of Denmark, Luneburg and Hesse. But he was again opposed by the dutch deputies and generals, who expatiated on the risk and danger of an enterprise, which they termed dubious and desperate; as well as on the little advantage which could be derived even from success; they contended that the enemy would still find ample resources for defence in the nature of the ground, particularly by occupying the strong position of Ramilies.* Finally, they dwelt with peculiar emphasis on the utility which would arise from the possession of Limburg. In this conflict of opinions, an appeal was made to the States; but their decision only produced new deliberations, which ended in the usual result.

Writing to Godolphin from St. Tron, August 26. September 6. Marlborough observes: — "You will see by my letter to the States that the dutch generals could not be brought to attack the lines. I pray God they may not have too much reason to repent it. My eyes are so extremely sore with the dust

* It is not unworthy of notice that this was the very position on which the french were defeated in 1706.

and the want of rest for these two days, that it is a very great trouble to me to write."

In another letter he adds, " I dare not say to you what I think of some of those gentlemen that have hindered us from forcing the lines ; but I am very confident before this campaign is ended, they will be ashamed of it ; for they begin already to say, that if they had had more cannon they should not have been against it.

" I am going to the siege of Limburg ; so that I believe I shall be a fortnight from this army, in which time I hope to recover my health ; for the unreasonable opposition I have met with has so heated my blood, that I am almost mad with the head-ache."

In the letter to the States to which he refers, he strongly insists on the practicability of the proposed attack, and complains in similar terms of his disappointment. He concludes, " As this is past, and as there is no appearance of doing any thing on this side, I have given my opinion that we ought not to lose a moment in preparing for the siege of Limburg, where thinking my presence may be more useful than here, I shall make a point of going thither as soon as we are ready to undertake the siege." *

To the duchess he imparted his chagrin in still more feeling terms: — " When I writ last I was so very much disordered that I writ in great pain. I cannot say I am yet well, for my head aches

* Lettre du duc de Marlborough aux Etats Généraux, Sept. 6. 1705.

violently, and I am afraid you will think me light-headed, when I tell you that I go to-morrow to the siege of Limburg in hopes to recover my health. But it is certainly true that I shall have more quiet there than I have here; for I have been these last six days in a perpetual dispute, and there I shall have nobody but such as will willingly obey me. I call God to witness that the attack of the lines, which I have been pressing them to do, was out of no other thoughts but for their own good."

Notwithstanding a series of heavy rains which deluged the ground, the army was again set in motion on the 5th of September, and on the 10th, Limburg was invested. The trenches were opened with all diligence, the batteries began to play on the 25th, and a wide breach being soon effected, on the 27th, the governor, with a garrison of 1400 men, surrendered at discretion.

With this success the active operations of the year were closed. Guelder, which had sustained a blockade since the spring, speedily followed the example of Limburg. Thus the campaign, though less brilliant than Marlborough had expected from the spirit and condition of his army, and the grand designs which he had formed, was not without advantage; for the territories of Cologne and Liege were secured; and by the reduction of all Spanish Guelderland, the States were relieved from that dread of invasion which had so long held them in suspense. By these acquisitions the way was prepared for more important and extensive enterprises.

By the correspondence, it appears that Marlbo-

rough was impatient to hasten from this scene of mortification and chicanery, that he might divert his chagrin in the society of his family and friends, and assist at the opening of the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the 4th of November. But a new and unexpected change of affairs rendered his presence still necessary on the continent.

The grand plan of the french to unite their Italian and German armies, and penetrate into the Austrian dominions, was obstructed by the disputes between Villars and the elector of Bavaria, the patriotic resistance of the Tyrolese, and finally frustrated by the sudden defection of the duke of Savoy.

Victor Amadeus had apparently embraced the Bourbon cause with zeal and sincerity, and had been rewarded for his attachment by the marriage of his daughters, one with the duke of Burgundy, presumptive heir to the french crown, and the other with the duke of Anjou, the successful pretender to that of Spain. He was, however, too sagacious a statesman not to perceive, that in contributing to the ruin of Austria, he was facilitating his own reduction to a state of dependence on France.

Urged by this motive, and stimulated by the hope of selling his assistance to advantage, he made several overtures to the court of Vienna as early as the month of May. To facilitate the negotiation, count Auersperg was deputed on the part of the emperor, and reached Turin on the 14th of July. A treaty was commenced the same day with the duke in person, the secret being confided

only to the marquis de Prie, his first minister. To evade the suspicious eyes of the french party, the imperial agent was clandestinely conveyed to Castiglio, a royal seat about two leagues from Turin, where the duke occasionally visited him under the pretence of hunting. But the difficulty of reconciling the jarring pretensions of the two parties; the demand made by the duke, of a guaranty from the maritime powers; and, above all, his dread of France, kept the arrangement in suspense, though such hopes were entertained of its conclusion, that Mr. Hill, a confidential agent of Marlborough, was appointed envoy to Turin, on the part of England, and reached the frontier of Italy as early as August. With a mixture of mystery and duplicity, the duke of Savoy declined receiving the english envoy, and remanded the imperial agent to the capital, where he was lodged, to use his own expression, like a political hermit, in an apartment of the palace. The difficulties and objections successively advanced by the duke irritated the emperor; and to secure a Proteus, who assumed every shape to elude his grasp, a hint of the negotiation was suffered to transpire through the German papers.

Still however count Auersperg was allowed to remain; for the duke of Savoy was unwilling to relinquish the negotiation, though his fears were awakened by the reverses which attended the imperial cause, and the inefficiency of the Italian army, to which he could alone look for support. The courts of England and Holland at length interfered to bring the discussion to a successful issue: and Marlborough, in particular, endeavoured

to hasten an arrangement, which appeared likely to produce such advantage to the cause of the allies. But Victor Amadeus yet fluctuated between hope and fear, and might perhaps have delayed his final resolution till it was too late to be effectual, had not the french court precipitated his defection by an impolitic act of severity. Acquainted with the secret intrigue, no less by the artful disclosure of the court of Vienna, than by the discoveries of their own agents, they hoped to terrify the wily prince by a decisive blow. Vendome, who was then advanced to the borders of the Tyrol, arrested and disarmed 5000 piemontese, who formed part of his army. This unexpected and public affront roused the indignation of a prince who prided himself on his cunning; and on this occasion his promptitude was strongly contrasted with his former indecision. The news reached him on the 3d of October, and the following day, indignantly throwing off the mask, he rejected the offer of the Milanese, in exchange for Savoy and Nice, which was made through the channel of the french commander, acceded to the grand alliance, and concluded subsidiary treaties with the Maritime Powers. In return for his accession he was to be assisted by the emperor with a force of 20,000 men, to enjoy the supreme command in Italy, and to receive, in addition to that part of the Montferrat, which belonged to the house of Mantua, Alessandria, Valenza, and Lumellina, with the Val de Sesia and other districts. These terms were guarantied by the Maritime

Powers, who agreed to aid him with a monthly subsidy of 80,000 crowns. *

In consequence of this change in Italy, the grand attack on Austria was suspended. The elector of Bavaria, after again defeating general Stirum at Hochstedt, employed himself in reducing the frontier fortresses, in order to resume the design with more certain effect in the ensuing year. The military movements on the Upper Rhine were influenced by the same cause. After Villars had penetrated into Bavaria, the army of Tallard was reinforced, and the duke of Burgundy nominated to the command. In September he reduced Old Brisach, and closed the campaign with the recovery of Landau, which secured the communication with the forces collected beyond the Black Forest.

The revolution in Italy, and the accession of Portugal to the grand alliance having opened new scenes of action, an important change took place in the system of the allies. In consequence of the discontent which was manifested towards the Bourbon government in many parts of Spain, Leopold hesitated no longer in announcing and enforcing the rights of his family. To obviate the objection against uniting under one head the extensive dominions of Charles the fifth, he and his son Joseph solemnly relinquished their claims on the spanish succession, in favour of his second son the arch-

* We have been enabled to develope this curious transaction, by the letters of Mr. Stepney to Sir Charles Hedges, and count Auersperg to Mr. Stepney, between May and November, 1703, in the State Paper Office. Also by the correspondence of Marlborough, and a letter from count Wratislaw to Marlborough, August 9. 1703.

duke Charles. The young prince was accordingly proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, and formally acknowledged by all the allied powers. He was treated at the imperial court with the formalities of a crowned head, and exercised his authority by creating several grandees of Spain. On the 19th of September he quitted Vienna, and traversed Germany in his way to England, where he was to join the armament prepared to realise his pretensions.

Marlborough was employed in arranging the winter quarters of his troops, when Charles arrived at Dusseldorf on the 16th of October. He therefore hastened to pay his respects, and convey to the young monarch the congratulations of the queen. Reaching Dusseldorf the same evening, he was admitted to a private audience, and treated with marks of the highest gratitude and regard. He concluded his address with observing, "I have just had the honour of putting your majesty in possession of Limburg." The king replied, "I hope to be yet more indebted to your valour for the reduction of other places to my obedience." An animated conversation ensued, and Charles finally taking from his side a sword richly set with diamonds, said, "I am not ashamed to own that I am a poor prince, having no other inheritance than my cloak and my sword. My sword may be serviceable to your grace, and I hope you will not esteem it the less because I have worn it a day. I hoped to present it to you at the head of that gallant army with which you have performed such great actions." The duke respectfully kissed the hilt, and rejoined,

" It acquires an additional value in my eyes, because your majesty has condescended to wear it; for it will always remind me of your just right to the spanish crown, and of my obligation to hazard my life and all that is dear to me, in rendering you the greatest prince of Christendom." *

As the duke had settled the disposition of winter quarters, and left the command of the troops to his brother general Churchill, he accompanied Charles to the Hague. Arriving on the 2d of November, he shared the honours which were paid to the young monarch, and was welcomed by every class with respect and applause. During his short stay he presented letters of congratulation from the queen, and in his audience of leave received from the king his portrait richly set in diamonds, accompanied with the most flattering expressions of kindness and regard.

These honours and distinctions were, however, far from being without alloy. The weakness and inconsistency of the dutch government, which had shackled his enterprising spirit, proved the source of new mortifications. Opdam, instead of being punished for his negligence, was, by private influence, reinstated in his command, and again sent to serve with the army, which had suffered by his misconduct. Slangenberg also renewed his clamours with redoubled violence, and found a party ready to second his cause, and re-echo his complaints.

The multiplied embarrassments which Marlborough had encountered in the course of the campaign, the malicious imputations with which he was

* Lediard, vol. i. p. 280.

assailed in Holland, the increasing violence of both parties in England, and the prospect of still greater contentions, seem at length to have exhausted his patience. At this moment he had the additional mortification to find his army diminished by a draught of 2000 men for the war in Portugal, which was ordered without his knowledge at the instigation of Nottingham. This measure drew on him a strong remonstrance from the dutch government, who considered such a breach of treaties as preparatory to a larger draught, if not the adoption of a defensive system in the Netherlands. The incident made a deep impression on his mind, from the mischiefs it was calculated to produce. In a letter to Godolphin he observes, "I cannot but say that the dutch argue very justly. If the queen can without their consent take these men, she may by the same reason recall the rest; and by the same reasoning they are at liberty to reduce as many as they please of their army." *

In the midst of this perplexity he found, to his surprise and vexation, that his friend Godolphin was alarmed by the incessant clamours against the system of war in the Netherlands, and became an advocate for defensive operations. These multiplied causes of disgust, confirmed him in a resolution, which he had before announced, of retiring from the command. His letters shew that he felt unusual impatience to return to England, and realise his design of withdrawing from the cares and responsibility of public life. To Godolphin he observes, (Hague, 19th October,) "I find by the

* Hague, October 19–30. 1705.

pensioner since my arrival, that he is apprehensive of my retiring. I have endeavoured to make him easy by telling him that he has no reason to doubt my inclinations to serve as long as I can be capable of doing any good. But he has told me that I must allow him to speak very seriously on this subject; but I shall be careful in following your advice in not letting them know my intention."

"*Hague, Oct. 22.–Nov. 2.* — I do assure you that some expressions in yours of the 14th, from Newmarket, have given me a good deal of thought; for since you can be of opinion that the people here ought to be easy, though they should be obliged to make a defensive war, there will be many more of that opinion. I think I know these people, that whenever this opinion is put in practice, great numbers of them will be thinking of a peace. Were I not to see you very soon, I should now trouble you with my thoughts on this subject, for I think all depends upon it. You know my intentions of serving no more, so that I can the freer speak to you on this subject; but I think we are running into methods that will make France get the better of us."

Quitting Holland, Marlborough landed in England on the 10th of November, N. S. He had scarcely time to receive the welcome of his family, before he was dispatched to Portsmouth to compliment the king of Spain, and conduct him to Windsor, where he was to be introduced to the queen. Two days only were dedicated to courtly ceremonies, during which Marlborough had twice the honour to receive the future monarch as his

guest, and the entertainment was graced with the presence of his royal mistress. On these occasions Charles treated the duchess with the same distinctions which he had already shewn to her husband. When she offered him the basin and ewer, he took it from her hand and held it for the queen. On returning it to the duchess, he presented her with a ring of great value, which he had worn on his own finger.* Having concluded these formalities, Charles returned to Portsmouth, accompanied by the duke of Somerset, and without delay embarked on board the Royal Catherine, which was to convey him to Lisbon.

Marlborough had scarcely reached England before the discontented tories resorted to one of the usual machinations of party, which was calculated to sow dissension in the court and shackle the operations of government. This was the revival of the bill against occasional conformity.

As the queen was known to be zealously inclined to the measure, and as both Marlborough and Godolphin had hitherto given it their strenuous support, their enemies naturally concluded that they could not oppose it without sacrificing their own principles, or offending their royal mistress; nor permit it to pass without depriving themselves of the aid which they drew from the whigs and moderate dissenters. Another mischief which this measure was likely to produce, had also probably not escaped the penetration of the movers; for as the whig zeal of the duchess was well known, a

* Cunningham, v. i. p. 357.

discussion, which must infallibly excite all the acrimony of party, could scarcely take place without creating irritation between her and the queen.

The situation and influence of the tories enabled them to revive this obnoxious act with peculiar effect. By the connivance of Nottingham it was announced in the gazette without the knowledge of Godolphin.* Under this apparent sanction of the government, it was received in the house of commons at the motion of Mr. Bromley. Being zealously supported, not only by the tories, but by the non-jurors and jacobites, it was carried by a large majority, and transmitted to the lords.

The correspondence which occurred while the bill was pending, sufficiently shews the delicate predicament in which Marlborough and the treasurer were placed. Although the queen had been induced in her speech at the opening of parliament, to deprecate discussions which were likely to excite divisions and animosity, she was not the less favourably disposed towards a measure which appeared to give additional strength and security to the church. A letter from the queen to the duchess, which is printed in the Conduct, will prove the interest she took in its success, and the reluctance with which she refrained from giving it her public support, even after she had been persuaded to excuse the prince her husband from again voting for a law to which he was himself obnoxious. In reply to a long remonstrance from her favourite, she observes: "To ease your mind, I must tell you

* Letter from Godolphin to the duchess.

that Mr. Bromley will be disappointed; for the prince does not go to the House when the bill of occasional conformity is brought in. But at the same time that I think him very much in the right not to vote in it, I shall not have the worse opinion if any of the lords are for it; for though I should have been very glad it had not been brought into the house of commons, because I would not have had any pretence given for quarrelling, I cannot help thinking, now 'tis as good as passed there, it will be better for the service to have it pass the house of lords too. I must own to you that I never cared to mention any thing on this subject to you, because I knew you would not be of my mind; but since you have given me this occasion, I cannot forbear saying that I see nothing like persecution in this bill. You may think it is a notion lord Nottingham has put into my head, but upon my word it is my own thought."*

At the same time that the duchess thus ventured to combat the secret inclinations of the queen, she did not spare the feelings of her husband, but importuned him to make an open and direct opposition to a bill which would weaken the interest of the party on whom the perverseness of the tories had compelled him to rely. He was himself fully sensible of the injurious consequences which it would produce; yet he too highly respected the prejudices of his sovereign, and was too anxious to preserve his own consistency, to follow her advice. He adopted, however, the most prudent resolu-

* Conduct, p. 166.

tion which circumstances would permit, and thus apprised her of his design:—

"I do own a great deal of what you say is right; but I can by no means allow that all the tory party are for King James, and consequently against the queen, but the contrary; I think it is in her power to make use of almost all, but some of the heads, to the true interests of England, which I take to be the protestant succession, to the supporting of which, by the help of Almighty God, I will venture my last drop of blood.

"As you are the only body that could have given me happiness, I am the more concerned we should differ so much in opinion. But as I am firmly resolved never to assist any jacobite whatsoever, or any tory that is for persecution, I must be careful not to do the thing in the world which my lord Rochester would most desire to have me do, which is to give my vote against this bill: but I do most solemnly promise that I will speak to nobody living to be for it; and to shew you that I would do any thing that were not a ruin to the queen, and an absolute destruction to myself to make you easy, at this time by what has been told me, the bill will certainly be thrown out, unless my lord treasurer and I will both speak to people and speak in the house, which I do assure you for myself I will not do."

In consequence of the lukewarmness manifested by the two ministers, and the example of the prince of Denmark, the party against the bill in the house of peers exerted themselves with a decisive effect. The attack was commenced by Dr. Burnet, bishop

of Salisbury, in an able speech, and he was zealously seconded by the whig chiefs. After a long and warm debate, it was lost by a majority of only twelve voices. Twenty-three peers of the tory party signed a protest, and among them we find the names of Marlborough and Godolphin, who evidently made this sacrifice of their feelings for the sake of preserving their consistency, and conciliating their former friends. They did not, however, gain their object; for in the pamphlets of the day we find them accused of duplicity, and charged with defeating the measure by their lukewarmness and indirect solicitations. *

* Journals — Tindal — Correspondence of the queen and the duchess — MS. Narrative of the duchess — and Conduct.

CHAPTER 20.

1704.

Melancholy situation of affairs abroad.—Successes and plans of the french and bavarians.—Intended invasion of Austria.—State of the confederate forces in Germany.—Grand design of Marlborough to lead an army into the empire.—Secresy and address displayed in its execution.—His mission to Holland, and negociations with the States.—Return to England.—Arrangements for the removal of Nottingham, and for the appointment of Harley and St. John to the offices of secretary of state and secretary at war.

In the preceding chapter we have seen that Marlborough quitted the continent with a determination to withdraw from the command; but on a calm and dispassionate consideration, the temporary ebullitions of spleen and vexation gave way to nobler sentiments; and the full conviction that his own presence and exertions could alone obviate the dangers which threatened the civilised world, induced him to sacrifice all personal feelings to the public cause.

Marlborough saw the year close with the most gloomy aspect. The change, occasioned by the accession of Portugal and Savoy, had suspended, not averted, the peril. The french monarch looked eagerly forward to the return of the season, in the

full confidence that a single campaign would reduce the emperor to submission, and break the bonds of that confederacy which had presumed to set bounds to his domination. In Hungary the insurrection assumed strength and consistency. Prince Ragotski, the leader of the malcontents, was joined by several powerful magnates, forced the imperial general, Sehlick, to retire to Presburg, and pouring his desultory hordes beyond the Mark, levied contributions in Moravia and Silesia, and spread alarm to the very gates of Vienna. By the possession of Landau and Brisach, the french had opened a passage over the Rhine, and secured the means of pushing an army through the Black Forest into the heart of the empire. The elector of Bavaria was master of Ratisbon, Kempten, Kaufleuren, and Gravenbach, which commanded the country between the Iller and the Inn; and of Augsburg, which afforded a passage over the Leck. He also occupied Ulm with a strong garrison, took Passau and Lintz, the keys of Upper Austria, and was prevented from reducing Nordlingen and Nuremberg, only by the advance of winter. He thus held the course of the Danube from its source to the frontier of Austria, established a communication with the french armies on the Rhine, and the rebels in Hungary, and by these advantages, joined to his central position, was enabled to awe the princes of the empire, and to penetrate almost without obstruction to the walls of Vienna. With an army of 45,000 men, he fixed his quarters in the vicinity of Ulm; from whence he could readily effect a junction with the french reinforcement,

which early in the spring was to penetrate through the rugged country bordering the sources of the Danube.

The french court had exerted their customary activity in collecting means for the accomplishment of this decisive enterprise. Besides the army in the Netherlands under Villeroy, Tallard with 45,000 men was posted on the Upper Rhine, in a situation which enabled him at once to menace the circles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhine, and open a passage into Bavaria. The Tyrol was exposed to the aggressions of the Italian army; and the most vigorous efforts were made to terminate the contest with the duke of Savoy, and clear the whole country between the frontier of Dauphinè and the Trentine Alps.

On the eve of so awful a crisis the defensive system of Germany was in the most deplorable state. Every exertion had been made to raise levies, and prepare Vienna for a siege; but with an impoverished country and an exhausted treasury every exertion was fruitless. Means and time were equally wanting to collect an army for the security of the austrian frontier; while the force which could be opposed to the elector of Bavaria, scarcely amounted to 20,000 men, and the army of the empire, which, under the command of the margrave of Baden, was employed to guard the lines of Stolhoffen, was equally incompetent to maintain so important a barrier of the empire. The avenues of the Black Forest were principally confided to militia and peasantry, supported by a few regulars under general Stirum. A small body of dutch

troops, amounting only to twelve battalions, was quartered at Rothweil, to cover Wirtemberg, and a few hessians and prussians were posted on the borders of the Rhine below Philipsburg.

Scarcely any hope remained of opposing the designs of France and Bavaria, and the fate of Europe appeared to depend on the first movement of their combined forces. Indeed we may with confidence assert, that if our great commander had executed his resolution of retiring from his irksome situation, the subversion of public and private liberty was inevitable.

Marlborough had duly appretiated the peril of the time, and before the close of the preceding campaign, had entered into a secret correspondence with Eugene, for the purpose of devising a remedy. He considered this as a crisis, which equally baffled the combinations of regular warfare, and the calculations of ordinary prudence; he was convinced that nothing but an effort bordering on rashness could save the emperor, and with him the members of the grand alliance, from inevitable ruin. Sensible that all which is dear to man was at stake, he not only vanquished his own irritated feelings, but infused a bolder spirit into the timid mind of Godolphin, and awakened the whigs to the dangerous consequences of their impolitic clamours for a defensive system. Having thus weakened the vexatious opposition with which he had been so long harassed, he formed the bold design of trusting the protection of Holland and Flanders to the dutch army, and leaving in his rear the numerous fortresses and forces of the enemy, to hasten with

all the disposable troops he could collect, to the quarter where the most pressing dangers were hourly accumulating.

In executing this extensive plan he had difficulties of no ordinary magnitude to encounter. He had not only to baffle the penetration of a vigilant enemy, who by a vigorous effort might have arrested his course, but to extort the consent of a divided cabinet to an enterprise of imminent peril and indefinite extent. He had also to vanquish the opposition of the dutch, and persuade them to confide in their own resources; while so large a part of the army, which had hitherto formed their protection, was detached on a perilous, a distant, and perhaps a fatal expedition.

His plan, however, was matured and carried into effect with astonishing celerity, address, and secresy. Having completed his arrangements with Eugene, he persuaded Godolphin to forward his views without disclosing their whole extent, and trusted to the chance of events for the sanction of the queen, and the acquiescence of the cabinet. The primary object was, to obtain from parliament the aids which would enable him to profit by the recent changes in Italy and Portugal, and above all to procure an augmentation of forces sufficient for the relief of Austria and the empire. In this object, by his own exertions and those of his friends, he fully succeeded. The commons, in compliance with the recommendation of the queen, not only granted subsidies to carry the alliances with Portugal and Savoy into effect, but also consented to an augmentation of 10,000 men in the Netherlands,

thus raising the force under the immediate command of Marlborough to 50,000. Adequate supplies were furnished for equipment, and to accelerate recruiting, the magistrates were armed with unusual powers.

It was next necessary to give a similar impulse to the most sluggish member of the confederacy. Accordingly, at the instigation of pensionary Hiensius, Marlborough was invited to Holland in the name of the States, that they might have the advantage of his advice in deliberating on the means of averting the dangers which threatened the common cause. He therefore quitted England on the 15th January, in a season of such intense cold, and tempestuous weather, that his yacht was the first vessel, which for six weeks had ventured to navigate the German sea. He landed at Rotterdam on the evening of the 18th, and profiting by the earliest tide, reached the Hague the ensuing day. To the pensionary he perhaps made the same communication as to Godolphin; but to the States he suggested a plan equally calculated to conceal and promote his design, by proposing to open a campaign on the Moselle, with the british troops, and part of the foreign auxiliaries; while general Overkirk with the dutch, and the remainder of the auxiliaries, maintained a defensive system in the Netherlands. He did not at first succeed in obtaining their sanction, even to this modified proposal, but he was ably seconded by the pensionary, who promised to employ his own influence and that of his confidential friends, in procuring the concurrence of the government, as soon as the intended

plan should be developed. At the same time Marlborough induced the States to grant a subsidy of 200,000 crowns for enabling the margrave of Baden to keep the field, and a similar supply to the circle of Suabia, which was about to become the scene of hostilities. He induced them also to take into their pay 4000 Wirtemburg troops, in the place of those who had been detached for the service of Portugal. Sensible also of the critical situation to which the duke of Savoy was reduced, he obtained a promise for the payment of the arrears due under the subsidiary treaty, and conveyed to him the assurance of so early and vigorous a campaign in Germany, as should prevent the french from increasing their forces in Italy.

Similar encouragement was held forth to the elector Palatine, who claimed large arrears from the dutch; and no expedient was neglected to satisfy the punctilious and grasping spirit of the king of Prussia, who seized every opportunity to enhance the price of his assistance. Marlborough warmly commended the zeal which his majesty had displayed for the common cause, flattered him with the title of deliverer of the empire, obtained an increase of his troops, and adroitly engaged him in a negociation to detach the elector of Bavaria. He even affected to make a confidential communication of his designs, by specifying the intended disposition of the forces on the Moselle and the Meuse, and indicating the mode and time of operation.*

During this short expedition to Holland we find some letters of a political nature from the duke to

* Letters to the king of Prussia,

Godolphin, and a few to the duchess, in which he adverts to the distressed situation of Germany, describes the difficulties he encountered, and dwells with concern and apprehension on the probable events of the passing year. The two letters in which he announces his return will suffice to shew the tone and tenour of his correspondence.

To lord Godolphin.

" *Feb.* 8–19.—I shall be sure to take the first wind that will carry me to sea, for I am very impatient to be with you, having finished every thing as far as this country is capable, for nobody here has power to conclude any thing; but Providence makes the wheel go round, and I hope the blessing of God will make us succeed much better than we can propose to ourselves.

" The news from Flanders says, the marshal de Villeroy was to be at Brussels the 20th of this month. If he should come, I hope he will not stay; for our magazines will not be ready till the beginning of April, before which time these people have made me promise to be back, so that my stay in England is likely not to be worth the crossing the seas twice; but my desire of being with you and lady Marlborough is such, that I would come, although I were to stay but a day."

To the Duchess.

" *Hague, Feb.* 4.* —The wind being fair, I intend to be on board to-morrow morning early, so that I hope to be with you as soon as this letter, which makes me write to nobody but my dearest

* There seems to be a mistake in the date; it should probably be Feb. 20. or 21. N. S.

soul, in whom is all the pleasure of my life; for when I am from you I see I cannot have any quiet. For this campaign I see so very ill a prospect that I am extremely out of heart. But God's will be done; and I must be for this year very uneasy, for in all the other campaigns I had an opinion of being able to do something for the common cause; but in this I have no other hopes, than that some lucky accident may enable me to do good. If this wind continues, I hope the king of Spain will make use of it, and that I shall have the happiness of being with you."

After a stay of only a few days Marlborough hastened his return to England, where his presence was necessary to give motion to the whole machine of state. Arriving at Rotterdam on the 22d of February, he embarked early the next morning with the first tide. But before he descended to the Brill, the yacht ran aground, and was left by the ebb. Being, however, unwilling to lose the favourable wind, he leaped into the first boat which appeared, and made to the Brill. He there re-embarked in the Dolphin, and after lying to at the mouth of the Meuse, to observe the transports, which were setting sail from Helvoet with the troops for Portugal, he continued his course to the english shore, landed at Gravesend about eight in the evening, and reached London early in the morning. He immediately waited on the queen, to communicate his arrangements. He not only obtained her approbation, but persuaded her to remit without delay, 100,000 crowns, as the proportion of England to the circle of Suabia, and from the privy

purse to advance the amount of the contingent which he had promised the margrave of Baden, and which was not comprised in the provisions of parliament.

His attention was also directed to the domestic arrangements, which the state of affairs required. It was not merely necessary to collect the means of action, but also to obviate the embarrassments which could not fail to arise, from the divided state of the cabinet, and the opposition of the high tories. Although Nottingham and his adherents did not openly join Rochester in his violent measures, and although they suffered the supplies to pass, they yet manifested their hostility by thwarting the bill for recruiting the army, and announced their dissatisfaction by a vehement protest. In consequence of this proceeding, and the refractory spirit they had shewn in the preceding year, a resolution was taken to remove the obnoxious secretary and some of his immediate dependants. Recent events contributed to reconcile the queen to the change, and render it satisfactory to the nation.

During the winter the discontents in Scotland had continued to spread, and gave rise to numerous plots and intrigues against the government. Among other machinations, a mysterious conspiracy was discovered, of which the principal mover was Simon Frazer, afterwards so notorious under the title of lord Lovat. The investigation instituted on the occasion, was conducted by Nottingham as secretary of state. The report which he submitted to parliament being severely scrutinised, he was ac-

cused of concealing the evidence, and attempting to quash the inquiry. His friends, who formed a majority in the house of commons, attempted to parry the imputation, by a vote, declaring that for his great ability and diligence, as well as for his adherence to the church of England, he had merited the trust reposed in him by the queen. The same influence enabled them to pass the report with a simple vote of thanks to the queen, for the information it conveyed. But in the house of lords, where the whig interest was more powerful, Nottingham was vigorously assailed. Several votes implying a censure on his conduct, were with difficulty evaded, and a strong protest was entered by twenty-two peers, among whom we distinguish the principal whig leaders. It concluded with a resolution, declaring that dangerous plots had existed in Scotland, and that the cause of these troubles was, the want of a settlement entailing that crown on the house of Hanover.

The attack against the noble secretary, of which these accusations were the harbingers, was not perfectly matured, when Marlborough took his final departure for the continent, on the 8–19th of April. Amidst the hurry of his journey and the bustle of military preparations, it deeply occupied his thoughts, and forms one of the leading topics in his correspondence with Godolphin. To preserve, therefore, the clue of this political intrigue, we shall here anticipate the period of its accomplishment, by tracing the progress and result.

Conscious of the predicament in which he was placed, Nottingham himself became the aggressor,

hoping that his influence with the queen, and the strength of his party in the commons, would intimidate the treasurer during the absence of Marlborough. His design was not concealed from the general, as we find by a letter to Godolphin, dated Harwich, April 8. 1704.

"I could not leave this place without acquainting you with what has been told me respecting lord Nottingham. The speaker will be able to let you know how much of it may be true. I am assured that he tells his party, that the queen is desirous to do every thing that would give them satisfaction, but that she is hindered by you and me; that he is so convinced we shall in a very short time put all the business into the hands of the whigs, that if he cannot get such alterations made in the cabinet council as he thinks absolutely necessary for the safety of the church, he would then quit; that he would speak very plainly to you and myself before I left England, and that his opinion was, that in the next session, they should tack to the land tax the bill of occasional conformity, and that of accounts, which was the only way of making them pass the house of lords; for then you and I would be zealous for it, notwithstanding our inclinations. If all this should be true, as I really believe it is, he is in my opinion doing her majesty all the hurt that he is capable of."

Before the close of the session, Nottingham carried this plan into execution. He addressed himself to Godolphin, declared his inability to coalesce with those whom he called his new friends, the whigs, and announced his resolution to retire from

office, if they were not totally excluded. Finding his arguments ineffectual, he appealed to the queen herself, urging the impossibility of conducting the government with a heterogeneous mixture of whigs and tories, and pressing her majesty to choose one of the two parties, and abide by that choice. If she preferred the tories, he pledged himself for the continuance of their zeal and services; if the whigs, he held forth the prospect of a vigorous opposition from his party, whose influence was paramount in the house of commons. In conclusion, he required the removal of the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire from the privy council, and tendered his own resignation, if his demand was rejected. *

The queen, unwilling to lose a minister whose principles she cordially approved, soothed his dissatisfaction, and suspended his design. But after so decisive a step the breach was irreparable. Nottingham soon renewed his importunities, and persisted till he offended the queen, who was too jealous of her authority to submit to the dictates even of a tory. She recurred to Godolphin, and by his advice, announced to the secretary her acquiescence in his resignation. He was confounded by her decision, and hesitated in executing his threat. But the queen having dismissed his two friends, the earl of Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour, he considered their fate as indicative of his own; and on the 18th of May he sullenly retired from office.

The queen communicated this transaction to the duchess in a style, which shews how highly she resented the presumption of Nottingham.

* Letter from lord Godolphin to the duchess, without date.

" *Kensington, Thursday morning.*

" I am just come to this place to get a little air and quiet. I am told by a very good hand that the queen has sent a message to lord Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour which they will not like. Sure this will convince Mrs. Freeman that I never had any partiality to any of these persons; for if that had been so, this would certainly never have been done. Something more of this nature it is believed will soon happen, that will not be disagreeable to Mrs. Freeman." *

But although the general and treasurer had united in removing a minister with whom they were unable to act, they were far from coalescing with the whigs, or giving additional weight to a party of which they never ceased to be jealous.

While the change was in agitation, Marlborough fixed his attention on Mr. Harley, then speaker, to succeed Nottingham in the office of secretary. He seems to have been influenced in this choice by a knowledge of Harley's financial talents, by the confidence derived from long habits of intimacy, and similarity of political principle, and finally by a sense of gratitude for disclosing the secret cabals of Nottingham †, and promoting the dismission of lord Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour. Another

* This note is written with affected obscurity, to conceal the names, which are indicated by ciphers.

† In a letter to the duchess, lord Godolphin observes, " I have not yet seen many people since I came, but enough to find that the hot angry people continue obstinate in endeavouring to give all the disturbance they can. The speaker is very industrious, and has found out things two or three several ways, which may chance to make some of them uneasy."

motive for his introduction to so important an office, was derived from numerous adherents in the house of commons, who professed to act on the principles of moderation and independence, as well as to regard no other object than the public service; and who from patriotism, pique, or love of change, withdrew from the two great contending parties. Such indeed was the address of Harley in making proselytes, that although he was himself connected with the dissenters, yet he acquired the confidence of churchmen; and frequently united at his hospitable board the ministers and members of both persuasions. Though a man so industrious in acquiring influence could not regard the honours of office with an indifferent eye; he at first declined the offer of the secretaryship, declaring that he was unwilling to fill a place, to the duties of which he had not been accustomed. With difficulty he even accepted a situation in the privy council. After some hesitation, either real or affected, he yielded to the importunities of Marlborough and Godolphin, and the solicitations of the queen; and on the 18th of May, his promotion was announced in the gazette. *

During this negotiation the other vacant places were filled. The earl of Kent, who ranked as a moderate whig, was appointed lord chamberlain; and Sir Thomas Mansell, an ardent tory as well as the friend of the speaker, was made comptroller of the household. Another promotion which took place at the same time was, the transfer of the secretary-

* Godolphin's private letters to the duchess.—Marlborough's private correspondence.—Conduct, p. 144.—Other side of the question, p. 215.

ship of war from Blathwayte to Henry St. John. This youthful statesman, who now commenced his public career, was the friend of Harley, and by him appears to have been introduced to the notice of the duke. His splendid and premature talents soon strengthened the impression made by his captivating amenity of manners, and he rapidly ingratiated himself with his noble patron, by an affectation of the most zealous attachment. Marlborough took the warmest interest in his promotion, and recommended him to Godolphin as one on whose integrity he might securely rely. "I am very glad," he says, "you are so well pleased with Mr. St. John's diligence, and I am very confident he will never deceive you."*

Marlborough was indeed so impatient for the appointment of Harley, that in one of his letters he earnestly requests Godolphin to take no excuse, but to insist on his acceptance of the seals, as soon as Nottingham was dismissed.

In another of the 2d of June he observes, "Now that the speaker is in the privy council, I hope it will not be long before you will have the ease of having him in the place of lord Nottingham."

At length when his wishes were gratified, we find him expressing his satisfaction to Harley himself.

"*June* 1–12.—I am favoured with your letter of the 19–30, and hope the office you have entered upon will be no less agreeable to you, than your service therein advantageous to the public; to both of which I am assured her majesty has especial re-

* Burkeim, July 13. 1704.

gard in the choice she has been pleased to make of a person so fitly qualified, by experience and fidelity, for a post of that importance and trust. In my own particular I am sensible of the advantage I shall reap by it, in having so good a friend near her majesty's person, to represent in the truest light my faithful endeavours for her service, and the advantage of the public, which shall always be my sole aim wherever I am, and wherein I must very much depend on your good advice and direction for my guidance."

Many of the zealous whigs were highly offended at these appointments, which they regarded as a slight to their party; and their complaints were imparted to Marlborough by his son-in-law, lord Sunderland. But he had still more vehement expostulations to encounter from his duchess. She depicted the attachment and zeal professed by Harley, as mere artifices to clothe his consummate subtlety; and her keen sagacity equally discovered the insatiable ambition and party zeal, which in St. John was cloaked with the appearance of unaffected candour, and careless vivacity. She conjured her husband to moderate his confidence towards two persons, whom she regarded as doubtful friends, if not dangerous enemies. Marlborough, however, neglected these warnings, from the honourable motive of regarding merit and abilities in the choice of his confidents, and from a native magnanimity of character, which was as unsuspicious as it was itself above suspicion. He thus unconsciously prepared the way for his subsequent mortification and final disgrace.

CHAPTER 21.

1704.

Arrangements of Marlborough for the campaign. — Returns to the continent. — Difficulties in obtaining aid from the States. — Commences his march towards the Danube. — Gradual developement of his plans. — Arrival at Mentz. — March of french reinforcements into Bavaria. — Negligence of the margrave of Baden in permitting their junction with the elector.

During his short stay in England, Marlborough exerted himself in dispatching the recruits and reinforcements to the continent, and maturing the military arrangements. Conscious how much his future success depended on secresy, he professed in England, as in Holland, his design of acting on the Moselle; and even to the queen and lord Godolphin, he appears to have made only a partial disclosure of his views.

Through the agency of prince Eugene, with whom he had secretly arranged the whole plan of the campaign*, he induced the emperor to write a confidential letter to the queen, claiming assistance proportionate to the magnitude of his danger;

* Letters from Eugene to Marlborough, in the Blenheim Papers, also Vie du Prince Eugene, t. ii. p. 156.

and on the 2d of April the imperial minister privately made a similar appeal in the name of his master. On this ground Marlborough procured a general instruction from the cabinet, which is dated the 4th, empowering him to repair to Holland, and concert with the States such measures as should be deemed proper for relieving the emperor, and reducing the elector of Bavaria. *

Even the partial hints which thus transpired, of a vigorous effort in Germany, appear to have awakened party jealousy. The high tories renewed their clamours against the system of offensive war, and dwelt with their usual emphasis on the hazard of distant enterprises, and the impolicy of continental connections.

Despising, however, these idle declamations, Marlborough hastened to fulfil his instructions, and to prepare for his momentous undertaking.

On the 19th of April, N. S. he embarked at Harwich with his brother, general Churchill, the earl of Orkney, and other officers; landed at Maeslandsluys, and reached the Hague on the 21st. His first care was to combat the constitutional tardiness of the margrave of Baden. He affected to adopt a plan, which that prince had furnished for a campaign on the Moselle, communicated the arrangements which were then pending with the States, and urged the necessity of an early and vigorous effort against the elector of Bavaria, because he should himself be obliged to return to the Netherlands towards the end of

* Instructions to John duke of Marlborough, April 4. 1704.

July. The next object was, to complete the dispositions which he had left unfinished in his recent visit to the Hague. Still, however, he found extreme difficulty in prompting a timid and commercial people, whose whole views were confined to temporary safety, to engage even in the modified plan which he had hitherto suggested, for an expedition to the Moselle. The design was opposed with peculiar warmth and pertinacity by the provinces of Zealand and Friesland.

Marlborough held several discussions with the deputies of the States, but with little effect.

He observes to Godolphin, April 11–22:—"The measures they are willing to take here for this campaign, in my opinion, are very wrong; for they would have an army on the Moselle of only 15,000 men, and the rest in Flanders, without any design but that of taking such advantage as the enemy should give. I am sure if I cannot prevail with them to change this measure, I shall have very little heart to serve."

After passing several days in combating the alarms of some, and the factious opposition of others, he resolved to extort that aid from their fears which he could not obtain from their public spirit, by declaring his intention to lead the english troops alone to the Moselle.

"I am afraid," he feelingly writes to the duchess, April 17–28, "this world is made more for trouble than happiness; for at this time I am hagged out of my life, so that I long extremely for Monday, which is the day I intend to leave this place. I shall go to the army on the Meuse

for some days, and when I have put the english on their march for the Moselle, I shall then go myself to Coblentz, to take care that the cannon and other things that are there may be forthwith sent to Treves."

On the ensuing day he at length developed a part of his plan to Godolphin.

" By the next post I shall be able to let you know what resolutions I shall bring these people to; for I have told them that I will leave this place on Saturday. My intentions are to march all the english to Coblentz, and to declare here that I intend to command on the Moselle; but when I come there to write to the States, that I think it absolutely necessary for saving the empire, to march with the troops under my command, and to join those in Germany, that are in her majesty's and the dutch pay, in order to take measures with prince Louis for the speedy reducing of the elector of Bavaria. The army I propose to have there, will consist of upwards of 40,000 men. If I should act in any other manner than what I now tell you, my design would be immediately known to the french, and these people would never consent to let so many troops go so far from their frontier; for the preservation of which and their garrisons, I propose to leave 10 battalions and 110 squadrons, so that I should have with me 46 battalions and 60 squadrons, paid by England and Holland. What I now write I beg may be known to nobody but her majesty and the prince."

At length he formally announced to the States the resolution which he had before communicated

to individuals. On the 1st of May, he writes to Godolphin :—" By the advice of my friends that I advise with here, I have this afternoon declared to the deputies of the States my resolution of going to the Moselle, and that I would leave this place on Monday. There having been some speeches in the States General, particularly by some of the Zealanders, that it was not safe to let their troops go so far from their frontier, my friends were of opinion that I ought not to consult the States any farther, than to declare my resolution of serving there. I shall not know till to-morrow how far they will be satisfied with this. * * * * Since I have no thought in this matter but what is for the queen's service and the public good, I do noways doubt but her majesty will approve it; for I am very sensible that I take a great deal upon me. But should I act otherwise, the empire would be undone, and consequently the confederacy."

He adds,—" When I come to Philipsburg, if the french shall have joined any more troops to the elector of Bavaria, I shall make no difficulty of marching to the Danube. I shall be, as in all things else, extremely glad to receive your thoughts on all this matter."

The event answered his expectations. His declaration silenced the clamours of faction, and operated on the fears of the timid; and in a formal conference with the States General, on the 4th of May, he obtained powers, which he deemed sufficient for the accomplishment of his design. He communicated the result to Godolphin in a tone of reviving confidence.

" *April* 24.—I reckon to be with the english

troops at Mentz, the 6th of June, this style, and to join the hessians and luneburgers about Philipsburg, and then to take my measures for joining the twelve battalions of the dutch that are on the Danube. I have it also in my power to have the 7000 palatines and 4000 wirtemburgers, that are paid by the dutch. Before I come to Coblentz, I intend to send an officer to prince Louis of Baden, to concert such measures as may enable us to act as soon as I shall come on the Rhine. I shall also send to prince Eugene, who is to command on the Danube. I think the States have given me sufficient power to act all this, without acquainting them with the particulars. In the conference I had yesterday with them, they assured me they should be satisfied with whatever I should think right for the public service, and they would write to M. Almelot*, to assist me in every thing."

Besides the reinforcement of auxiliary troops, to which the duke here alludes, he also persuaded the States to supply the train of artillery, ammunition, and other military stores for the campaign. At the same time he had successfully negotiated with the court of Prussia, and procured the necessary facilities for transporting his magazines to Coblentz. With that indefatigable activity of mind, which can pursue the most extensive combinations, without neglecting subordinate details, he superintended in person the collection and embarkation of these necessary requisites. He saw also the reinforcements which had recently arrived from England, com-

* One of the dutch deputies employed on military affairs in Germany.

mence their march for the general rendezvous, under the command of his brother, general Churchill.

Thus did this able negotiator and profound statesman, as well as great commander, wield all the jarring interests of a heterogeneous confederacy: thus did he turn even the alarms of the timid, the clamours of the factious, and the views of the interested, to the accomplishment of the boldest and most adventurous project, which in modern times had ever been conceived by a general who was responsible for his actions, and limited in his authority.

The duke had departed from England under the pressure of domestic chagrin, derived from some petty bickerings with the duchess. At this period a reconciliation not only seems to have taken place; but in the warmth of returning tenderness, she even testified a wish to accompany him during the campaign, and to soothe his anxiety by her presence. His reply shows how intimately the affections of the man were, in his bosom, blended with the virtues of the hero.

"*Hague, April* 24.–*May* 5.—Your dear letter of the 15th came to me but this minute. My lord treasurer's letter in which it was inclosed, by some mistake was sent to Amsterdam. I would not for any thing in my power it had been lost; for it is so very kind, that I would in return lose a thousand lives if I had them to make you happy. Before I sat down to write this letter, I took yours that you wrote at Harwich out of my strong box and have burnt it; and if you will give me leave it will be a great pleasure to me to have it in my power to read

this dear dear letter often, and that it may be found in my strong box when I am dead. I do this minute love you better than ever I did before. This letter of yours has made me so happy, that I do from my soul wish we could retire and not be blamed. What you propose as to coming over, I should be extremely pleased with; for your letter has so transported me, that I think you would be happier in being here than where you are; although I should not be able to see you often. But you will see by my last letter, as well as this, that what you desire is impossible; for I am going up into Germany, where it would be impossible for you to follow me; but love me as you now do, and no hurt can come to me. You have by this kindness preserved my quiet, and I believe my life; for till I had this letter, I have been very indifferent of what should become of myself. I have pressed this business of carrying an army into Germany, in order to leave a good name behind me, wishing for nothing else but good success. I shall now add, that of having a long life, that I may be happy with you."

To prevent the restraints derived from the presence of the field deputies, Marlborough had confined his demand of reinforcements to the auxiliaries in the pay of the States. To obviate also the obstructions which might arise from the pretensions of foreign officers, he obtained for his brother the rank of general, with the command of the british infantry; and Overkirk, who had been involved in some dispute with general Churchill, relative to precedence, was left with the dutch troops, and the

remainder of the auxiliaries, to guard the frontier, and secure the conquests of the former campaign.

Having completed all his preparations, he quitted the Hague in the evening of the 5th of May, and proceed in a yacht to Utrecht. In his progress to the army, he spent a social day at Vorst, the seat of the earl of Albemarle. Here we find that while the fate of Europe hung on his projected expedition, the internal politics of England did not the less occupy his attention. We observe also that the spleen and querulousness which had hitherto marked his correspondence, began to give way to elevated hopes, and renewed confidence. He quitted this hospitable mansion at break of day, on the 7th of May, and hastening his journey by Ruremond, reached Maestricht on the 10th. Here he continued till the 14th, actively employed in assembling and organising the army, superintending the formation of magazines, and pressing the march of the troops to the place of rendezvous. The labours of a single day will suffice to show his activity, both of body and mind. At Ruremond he inspected the construction of a bridge for the passage of the troops over the Meuse; in the morning he reviewed the first line of his army, and the second in the afternoon; in the intervals he not only gave the necessary orders for the troops under his immediate command, but dispatched instructions directing the generals posted at Mentz, Rothweil, and the distant parts of Germany, to hold themselves in readiness for taking the field.

Having set the different columns in motion, and left a garrison of six regiments of british infantry

and four squadrons of cavalry to secure Maestricht, Marlborough departed on the 16th, and on the 18th reached Bedburg, which had been fixed as the place of rendezvous. Here he found the army assembled under general Churchill, amounting to 51 battalions and 92 squadrons, including 16,000 english. To these were to be united in the course of the march, the troops of Prussia, Luneburg, and Hesse, quartered on the Rhine, and the eleven dutch battalions stationed at Rothweil.*

On the 19th he commenced that celebrated expedition, which was pregnant with such stupendous events. Encamping on the 20th at Kerpen, he received an express from Overkirk, pressing him to halt, because Villeroy, with 36 battalions and 45 squadrons, had quitted the lines, crossed the Meuse on the preceding day at Namur, and threatened Huy. At the same moment letters arrived from the margrave of Baden and count Wratislaw, stating that Tallard had made a movement, as if intending to cross the Rhine, and urging him to hasten his march towards the lines of Stolhoffen. Marlborough was not diverted by these applications from the prosecution of his grand design. Conscious that the army of Villeroy would be too much reduced to undertake offensive operations,

* In addition to the letters of the duke, and the printed authorities often quoted, we have been aided in describing the operations of this campaign by a very interesting journal, kept by the duke's chaplain, Mr. Hare, afterwards bishop of Chichester. This journal was compiled from personal observations and official documents, and submitted to the inspection of the duke himself, as we learn from a letter written towards the close of the campaign by his secretary, Mr. Cardonel, to secretary Harley, which is preserved in the State Paper Office.

by the detachments which had already been made towards the Rhine, and those which must follow his own march, he halted only a day to quiet the alarms of Overkirk. To satisfy also the margrave, he ordered the troops of Hompesch and Bulow to draw towards Philipsburg, though with private injunctions not to proceed beyond a certain distance. He even exacted a promise to the same effect from count Wratislaw, who at this juncture arrived at the camp to attend him during the whole campaign.

On the following day he reached Kalsecken, and began to develope a part of his plan. He wrote to the States expressing his conviction that no danger was to be apprehended on the side of the Netherlands, while his own march so strongly engaged the attention of the enemy. Drawing an argument from the strength of Villeroy, and the probability of his advance to the Moselle, he also pressed for further reinforcements, to save his own army from being overwhelmed by superior numbers, and represented that Overkirk could readily supply the deficiency by drafts from the neighbouring garrisons. The troops having proceeded in their march through Merkheim to Sinzig, where they arrived on the 23d, Marlborough departed to inspect the fortifications of Bonn, as if he designed to establish a place of arms for a campaign on the Moselle. Here he received intelligence that Tallard had passed the Rhine near Brisach on the 12th of May, and after pushing a reinforcement of 10,000 men with a considerable supply of ammunition and stores, through the defiles near Frey-

burg to join the elector of Bavaria, had resumed his former position in the vicinity of Strasburg. He was apprised also that Villeroy, with the best of his troops, was hastening towards the Moselle.

This intelligence induced Marlborough to renew his appeal to the States for succour, and to accelerate his march to the Danube. On the 25th he advanced with the cavalry, in the direction of Coblentz, leaving his brother to follow with the infantry and artillery. In his letters we trace the promptitude of his intelligence and the rapidity and combination of his movements. We find him also confidently anticipating success, and testifying the utmost satisfaction, in having already suspended the advance of the elector of Bavaria to Vienna.

At Coblentz his army traversed the Moselle and the Rhine on the 26th of May, while he paid a visit to the elector of Treves at Ehrenbreitstein. Here, as elsewhere, he was received with respect and admiration; every class, from the subject to the sovereign, vied in expressions of gratitude and joy, and his march resembled rather a triumphal procession, than the movement of an army to the conflict. From Coblentz he sent his baggage and artillery up the Rhine to Mentz, and again led the advance with his cavalry. His arrangements were equally adapted to gain time and spare his troops. He moved at the first dawn of the morning, and reached his intended camp before the heat became oppressive, so that the men were as much refreshed by a rest of several hours as by the halt of a day.

From Broubach on the 27th of May he acquainted the king of Prussia with his progress, announced the junction of the french reinforcement with the elector of Bavaria, and earnestly requested a further aid of prussian troops, to whose bravery he paid a distinguished compliment. He had here the satisfaction of receiving the warmest testimony of gratitude from the imperial court, and of finding that his appeal to the States was zealously seconded by the dutch generals.

To the duchess he exultingly writes, Broubach, May 16–27: "If flattery could make me happy, count Wratislaw, who came to me yesterday, has said so much from the emperor, that I am ashamed to repeat it to you; but I hope the queen will find the good effects of it; for it is certain, if these troops I bring had not come to his assistance, he would have run great risk of losing his crown, which he seems very sensible of.

" I have also the satisfaction of receiving marks of the friendship of the dutch generals in Flanders; for I had an express yesterday from M. Overkirk to acquaint me they had writ to the States to desire they might immediately have power to send me twenty squadrons of horse, and eight regiments of foot; for they were of opinion that no success in Flanders could make amends for any ill accident that might happen to me for want of having more troops. I know you are so concerned in any thing that makes me easy or uneasy, that I would not omit letting you know this; for though the ignorance of the States may hinder any more troops coming to me, yet I am very

much pleased with the expression of friendship the generals have made me."

Reaching Cassel, a suburb of Mentz, on the 29th, he halted a day to refresh the cavalry, who were much fatigued by their constant march. In this interval, he was hospitably received at Mentz by the elector, in whose presence the troops were reviewed. The elector was particularly struck with their cleanly and neat appearance, and alluding to an entertainment which was to be given to the officers, observed, "these gentlemen seem to be all dressed for the ball." *

Before he marched, Marlborough received information that the States had consented to reinforce his army with 20 squadrons and 8 battalions of danish auxiliaries. But his satisfaction at this news was counterbalanced by intelligence, that the margrave of Baden had not only suffered the french succours to join the elector of Bavaria without obstruction, but had also neglected a favourable opportunity of defeating the enemy even after the junction.

The elector and Marsin had broken up from their camp at Ulm with 35,000 men, and on the 17th of May drew towards the head of the Danube to receive the expected succours. On their approach, general Thungen, who commanded the German troops between the Danube and the Lake of Constance, withdrew towards Rothweil, where he was joined by the dutch and a body of Wirtemberg cavalry. On the 14th he

* Hare's Journal.

was reinforced by the margrave of Bareith and general Stirum, with 14,000 men, from the circle of Franconia.

These generals being thus at the head of 30,000 men, proposed to attack the elector, who was then posted behind Villingen, and would doubtless have prevented the junction of the reinforcements which were then filing through the defiles to the east of Freyburg. At this moment, however, their design was suspended by an order from the margrave of Baden, enjoining them to wait his arrival. Apprised of the enemy's motions, he quitted the lines of Stolhoffen on the 17th, and hastening to the camp at Rothweil, was followed by seven regiments of infantry and one of cavalry. The junction being effected, he on the evening of the 19th approached the electoral camp at Villingen. Unfortunately, the time which had been lost in waiting his arrival, had enabled the french reinforcements to accomplish their passage; and on the 20th the enemy hastily decamping, withdrew through Huffingen, towards Engen.

The enemy being burthened with a long line of carriages, an active general might yet have remedied the mischief of the delay, by seizing the pass of Stochach, which would have cut off their retreat; and as they were totally in want of bread, would have left them no resource except to surrender at discretion. The margrave indeed wanted not skill and vigilance to perceive, but activity to seize the advantage. He crossed the Danube at Dutlingen, and advanced to Leptingen at the same time that the enemy reached Engen; yet in

this situation he suffered them to anticipate him at the pass of Stochach, and after a brisk cannonade they filed off without obstruction to Saulgen. Having thus permitted his prey to escape, he fell back to Mosskirk, and on the 28th of May took up his position at Rietlingen.*

While he remained at Mentz, Marlborough acquainted the landgrave of Hesse, with his intention of proceeding farther into Germany, to the relief of the emperor, and persuaded that prince to send the artillery which he had provided for the expected operations on the Moselle to Manheim, that it might be ready for the siege of Landau, or any other enterprise of advantage to the common cause. He also summoned the prince of Hesse, Bulow, and Hompesch to Mentz, to receive the necessary directions for the junction of the forces under their command with the main army. He took measures also for the regular payment of his troops. "I send to-morrow to Frankfort," he writes to Godolphin, "to see if I can take up a month's pay for the english, and shall draw the bills on Mr. Sweet; for notwithstanding the continual marching, the men are extremely pleased with this expedition, so that I am sure you will take all the care possible that they may not want."†

* Hare's Journal. — Memoirs de Tallard, passim. — Histoire de Marlborough, t. i. p. 288—291.

† Mentz, May 18-29. 1704.

CHAPTER 22.

1704.

Marlborough reaches the Neckar.—Direction of his march towards the Danube.—Counter movements of the enemy.—Interviews of Marlborough with prince Eugene and the margrave of Baden.—Disposition of the command, and plan of operations.—Eugene heads the army on the Rhine, and the margrave shares the command with Marlborough.—Failure of the dutch generals in their attempt to force the french lines.—The emperor offers to Marlborough a principality of the empire.—Junction of the armies under Marlborough and the margrave.—Their arrival and commencement of operations on the Danube.

The next point to which Marlborough directed his march was Ladenburg, where he had previously ordered bridges to be constructed for the passage of the Neckar. Here he arrived on the 3d of June. Notwithstanding all the cares which weighed on his mind, and the pomp with which he was surrounded, his thoughts still dwelt on the endearments of home, and the society of his family and friends. The duchess having earnestly repeated her request to join him, he replied:

"*Weinheim, May 22–June 2.*

"I take it extreme kindly that you persist in desiring to come to me; but I am sure when you consider that three days hence will be a month,

that the troops have been in a continual march to get hither; and we shall be a fortnight longer before we shall be able to get to the Danube, so that you could hardly get to me and back again to Holland, before it would be time to return into England. Besides, my dear soul, how could I be at any ease; for if we should not have good success, I could not put you into any place where you would be safe.

"I am now in a house of the elector palatine, that has a prospect over the finest country that is possible to be seen. I see out of my chamber window the Rhine and the Neckar, and his two principal towns of Manheim and Heidelberg; but would be much better pleased with the prospect of St. Alban's, which is not very famous for seeing far."

To Godolphin he briefly communicates his situation and ulterior views; in a letter also written from Ladenburg on the 4th of June.

"The cannon and infantry being six days' march behind me, and the troops of Luneburg, Holland, and Hesse, being in several quarters, I shall halt here to-morrow, to give the necessary orders, and then shall advance towards the Danube, with what troops I have here, leaving the english and cannon to be brought up by my brother, and the danes by the duke of Wirtemberg. I hope in eight days to meet with prince Louis and prince Eugene. I am afraid the first will not go to the Rhine, he being, as I am told, desirous to stay on the Danube. When I see them, you shall be sure to know what we have concerted."

Hitherto his progress had held all Europe in awful anxiety, and had not only suspended the movements of the elector of Bavaria, but had perplexed and confounded the french commanders. As his arrival at Coblentz had spread apprehension of an attack by the Moselle, so his advance to Mentz had seemed to threaten Alsace. His subsequent progress afforded no precise indication of his design; while the construction of a bridge over the Rhine at Philipsburg, and the advance of the hessian artillery to Manheim, seemed preparatory to the siege of Landau. Villeroy, who had followed him from the Meuse, drew an additional reinforcement from Flanders; while Tallard descended to the Lauter, that they might readily unite their forces to protect Alsace, or create a diversion by an offensive movement into the empire. Their penetration was however baffled, and Tallard, hitherto fertile in projects, was bewildered amidst doubt, difficulty, and conjecture.

With such skill and science had this enterprise been concerted, that at the very moment when it assumed a specific direction, the enemies were no longer enabled to render it abortive. As the march was now to be bent towards the Danube, notice was given for the prussians, palatines, and hessians, who were stationed on the Rhine, to order their march so as to join the main body in its progress. At the same time directions were sent to accelerate the advance of the danish auxiliaries, who were marching from the Netherlands.

After traversing the Neckar, Marlborough again moved on the 6th of June, and passing through

Wisloch, encamped on the 7th at Erpingen, having been joined in the route by several bodies of auxiliaries. At this, as at other periods, he was particularly solicitous to spare the people whom he came to defend. Contrary to the custom of the french and germans, who subsisted their armies at the expense of the country, he took effectual care that the troops should be regularly paid, and enjoined the treasurer to secure a month's subsistence, and establish ample credit in advance. Similar orders were forwarded to the danes, who were more likely to commit excesses than the forces under his own immediate inspection. By these precautions he conciliated the inhabitants, and obtained a more regular supply of provisions than could have been extorted by any measure of severity. Sensible also how deeply the soldier feels the attention and sympathy of his general, he wrote to his brother, who had then reached Heidelberg, expressing his concern for the sufferings which the infantry had undergone; and directing the commanding officers of each regiment to make an early provision of shoes and other necessaries, which could not be readily obtained in a hostile country.

With that consummate vigilance which is equally attentive to every point within the sphere of action, he omitted no precaution to baffle the efforts which the french commanders might be prompted to make on the disclosure of his real design. To Godolphin he writes, May 28–June 8:—

"Having received intelligence yesterday that in three or four days the duke of Villeroy, with

his army, would join that of the marshal de Tallard about Landau, in order to force the passage of the Rhine, I prevailed with count Wratislaw to make all the haste he could to prince Louis of Baden's army, where he will be this night, that he might make him sensible of the great consequence it is to hinder the french from passing that river, while we are acting against the elector of Bavaria. I have also desired him to press, and not to be refused, that either prince Louis or prince Eugene go immediately to the Rhine. I am in hopes to know to-morrow what resolution they have taken. If I could decide it by my wishes, prince Eugene should stay on the Danube, although prince Louis has assured me, by the count de Frise, that he will not make the least motion with his army, but as we shall concert. At this time it is agreed that prince Louis shall act on the Iller, and I on the Danube. If the marshal de Villeroy can be kept on the other side of the Rhine, we must be contented to suffer him to do what he pleases there, whilst we are acting in Bavaria. If we can hinder the junction of more troops to the elector, I hope six weeks after we begin may be sufficient for the reducing of him, or the entire ruining of his country. It will be the 10th of June our stile, before the english foot and cannon can join me on the Danube; and if the cannon, which prince Louis has promised, can be ready, which I much doubt, I shall in two days after the junction march directly to Donawerth. If I can take that place I shall there settle a magazine for the army, at the same time that the other army is to force their

passage over the Iller, which prince Louis thinks himself sure of, that river having several fords."

On the 8th Marlborough moved to Gross Gartach, and the 9th passing the Neckar a second time at Lauffen, advanced the next day to Mondelsheim, where he had the satisfaction to find that prince Eugene and count Wratislaw were on their way to visit him. Here these two great generals met for the first time, and conceived for each other that esteem and confidence which afterwards rendered them partners in glory. The next day they marched to Hippach, where Marlborough reviewed his cavalry, in the presence of Eugene. The prince expressed his surprise to find the troops in so excellent a condition, after their long and harassing march. "I have heard much," he said, "of the english cavalry, and find it indeed to be the best appointed and finest I have ever seen. Money, of which you have no want in England, can buy clothes and accoutrements, but nothing can purchase the spirit which I see in the looks of your men. It is an earnest of victory." To so judicious a compliment, Marlborough made a no less flattering reply. "My troops," he observed, "are always animated with zeal for the common cause, but they are now inspired by your presence. To you we owe that spirit which awakens your admiration." *

In this camp they halted three days, to give time for the infantry to approach, and settle the future operations.

* Hare's Journal of the campaign.

The margrave of Baden having detached 9000 prussians, and three regiments of cavalry, to secure the passage of the Rhine, joined them on the 13th. On his arrival he said to Marlborough, with perhaps more courtesy than sincerity, "I am come to meet the deliverer of the empire." Alluding to his own recent failure, he added, "You will assist me in vindicating my honour, which has been lowered in the public opinion." Marlborough, on his part, was not deficient in attention to so proud and punctilious a prince: he replied, "I am come to learn of your highness how to save the empire. None but those who are deficient in judgment, can depreciate the merits of the prince of Baden, who has not only preserved the empire, but enlarged its boundaries."

Many conferences were held by the three generals, to settle their respective commands and future plans. In vain Marlborough laboured, both directly and indirectly, to induce the margrave to head the army on the Rhine, and leave Eugene as his colleague on the Danube. The margrave, unwilling to be removed from the most brilliant scene of operation, insisted on the privilege of choice as elder in rank; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, that he consented to share the command by alternate days with the english general. To the mortification both of Eugene and Marlborough, this arrangement was adopted, and the command on the Rhine assigned to Eugene.

The troops again moved early on the 14th, to the small village of Ebersbach; and the three generals, after partaking of an hospitable repast at

Great Gartach, repaired to their respective commands. On reaching his camp in the evening, Marlborough found the prince of Hesse, with generals Bulow and Hompesch, attending to apprise him that their respective corps were in the neighbourhood, and ready to march to the appointed rendezvous.

During the course of this arduous expedition, the failures which occurred in distant quarters, were sufficient to have diverted a commander less decisive and persevering than Marlborough, from his purpose. Scarcely had he ceased to regret the tardiness of the margrave of Baden, in suffering the french reinforcements to join the elector of Bavaria, before intelligence equally unpleasant arrived from the army on the Meuse.

On the departure of the last detachment for Germany, Overkirk was ambitious to signalise his command by an important enterprise. Being informed that the enemy were moving to Tongres, he broke up from Loon, and gaining the advance by a rapid march, effected an entrance into their deserted lines, on the side of Mierdorp and Wasseige. The enemy were utterly disconcerted by this unexpected movement; but the same opposition which had already defeated the laudable designs of Marlborough, proved no less fatal to those of the dutch commander. After losing a considerable part of the day in fruitless deliberation, the appearance of a small french detachment was sufficient to alarm his timid colleagues; and he was compelled to relinquish his advantage, at the very

moment when his enterprise was likely to be crowned with complete success.*

However deeply Marlborough felt this disappointment, he could not but be gratified on comparing his actual situation with that of the preceding year, when he was shackled by the control of dutch deputies, and harassed by the jealousies of dutch generals. He, however, announced the failure in terms of regret to secretary Harley, in a few hasty lines dated from Ebersbach, June 15.

"I send now to my lord treasurer a relation I have received of the proceedings of our army on the Meuse, by which you will see our friends there have lost a very great opportunity. If they had made a good use of it, we might have found the effects in these parts, and every where else. They are sensible of their error, and I hope will be the more intent to retrieve it."

Measures had been taken to form an army of 30,000 men on the Upper Rhine; but Marlborough was far from being satisfied with the dispositions in that quarter; for by some mismanagement of prince Louis, the prussians, who were to compose part of that force, had been drawn to the Danube, and the suabian troops, who were destined for the Danube, had been left on the Rhine. Accordingly no less than ten days were wasted in countermarching at a most critical period of time.†

From Ebersbach, which was his head quarters on the 14th and 15th of June, we find two interesting letters to Godolphin and the duchess. He ac-

* Relation sent to Marlborough by general Dopf, June, 1704.

† Marlborough to Godolphin, Great Hippach, May 31.–June 11. 1704.

quaints them also with the flattering marks of attention, which he had received from the emperor, and communicates an offer, which was now first made of investing him with a principality of the empire.

"*June* 4–15.—Since my last," he observes to the duchess, "I have had prince Louis with me, so that we have taken the necessary measures for our first motions. Prince Eugene was with me from Monday till Friday, and has in his conversation a great deal of my lord Shrewsbury, with the advantage of seeming franker. He has been very free with me, in giving me the character of the prince of Baden, by which I find I must be much more on my guard than if I was to act with prince Eugene. * * *.

"When I had writ thus far, count Wratislaw came to me, having just received an express from his master. After very great expressions, it ended in saying that his master was desirous to write to the queen, that he might have her consent to make me a prince of the empire, which he would do by creating some land he has in the empire into a principality, which would give me the privilege of being in the college, or diet, with the sovereign princes of the empire. You know I am not good at compliments; however, I did assure him that I was very sensible of the honour his master intended me, but in my opinion nothing of this ought to be thought on till we saw what would be the fate of the war. He replied, that what already had been done, had laid obligations on his master above what he could express, and that if the queen would not allow him to do this, he must appear ungrateful to the

world, for he had nothing else in his power worth giving, or my taking. What is offered will in history for ever remain an honour to my family. But I wish myself so well that I hope I shall never want the income of the land, which no doubt will be but little, nor enjoy the privilege of German assemblies. However, this is the utmost expression that they can make, and therefore ought to be taken as it is meant.

" I know you wish the queen and me so well, that you would be glad that nothing should be done that might do either of us hurt. Therefore my opinion of this matter is, that there can be no inconvenience in allowing count Wratislaw's master to write to the queen to ask her consent for the doing this, and then to bring the letter to the cabinet council. In the mean time I shall take care with count Wratislaw, that no further step be made till I know the queen's pleasure, and the opinion of lord treasurer.

" I am very clear in my own opinion, that if any thing of this be to be done, it will have a much better grace for me when the business of the war is over; but I beg you to assure the queen, that I will with great pleasure obey in this matter, as well as in every thing else, what is most agreeable to her."

To lord Godolphin, he writes from the same place: —

" After we had taken the necessary resolutions for putting in execution what had been projected against the elector of Bavaria, yesterday in the afternoon prince Eugene went for the Rhine, prince

Louis to his army, and your humble servant to his place. Prince Eugene will be at Philipsburg this day, and prince Louis with his army this morning.

" For want of the danes to join me, and the suabians that are to come from the Rhine to join prince Louis, we are necessitated for the first ten days to make but one army. We shall join four days hence, and march directly to the elector, who is encamped near Ulm, who without doubt will take his resolution of repassing the Danube, or marching to his old camp of last year, of Dillingen and Lawingen, so that I am afraid we shall not be able to do him much hurt till we are in a condition of acting with two armies."

After adverting to the information which he had received from prince Eugene and count Wratislaw, respecting the captious temper of the margrave, he adds, " But at the same time they have assured me, that their master would not suffer him to do hurt, either by his temper, or by want of good inclinations. After I have said this, I must do him the justice, that I think he will do well; for he must be a devil, after what he has said, if he does otherwise.

" I have writ to lady Marlborough of a thing that count Wratislaw has by order spoke to me of. You will be pleased to let nobody know of it but the queen and prince; and be so kind as to let me know how I am to be directed in this matter. You will see by my letter to lady Marlborough, that I have gained time enough for having your advice; for I would have nothing done in this but what you

think may be for the interest of the queen, as well as for my honour."

He had now reached the most critical point, as well as the most anxious period of his long and difficult march. Before him stretched the range of mountains skirting the country watered by the Danube, which was intersected by the narrow pass of Gieslingen. This defile, which extended two miles in length, could scarcely be traversed by a large body of troops in less than a day, during the most favourable season of the year. At this moment the operation was rendered still more difficult by a series of heavy rains, which had broken up the roads, and swollen the rivulets into torrents. New cares and more extensive combinations were required on entering the real scene of action, and measures were to be taken for securing the junction with prince Louis, as soon as the army should descend into the plains. To add to the disquietude of the commander, the States General were alarmed by reports that Villeroy was returning to the Netherlands, and earnestly reclaimed a part of the auxiliary forces. News also arrived that Villeroy and Tallard had held a conference at Landau, on the 13th, which seemed to portend some enterprise of moment, and that the elector of Bavaria, after sending his baggage to Ulm, was pushing his army across the Danube, as if meditating an attack on prince Louis.

But the powerful mind of Marlborough seemed to gather strength and resources even from difficulty and peril. To tranquillise the States, he sent orders for the collection of a sufficient number of

boats to facilitate the return of a large body of troops down the Rhine. He employed the interval of his halt in directing the formation of magazines at Heidelsheim and Nordlingen. He also enjoined the danish foot, who had reached Frankfort, to direct their march towards Stolhoffen, and place themselves at the disposition of Eugene ; and having pressed his brother, who had arrived with the infantry at Blockingen, to hasten his progress, he prepared to lead forward the cavalry and auxiliaries to the aid of prince Louis.

On the 20th he received the long expected intelligence that the German army was on the point of advancing to Westerstetten. The heavy baggage was instantly directed to move, under a strong escort, that it might not embarrass the passage of the troops. The whole army gradually traversed the defile without obstruction, and on the 22d the camp was established, between Launsheim and Ursprung, the right joining the left of prince Louis, who, in the interim, had taken his position near Westerstetten.

The following day was spent in reviewing the troops and forming a new line of battle. On the 24th, the confederates advancing to Elchingen and Langenau, in the vicinity of the Danube, the elector of Bavaria withdrew from his post at Ulm, and retired to the strong intrenched camp between Lawingen and Dillingen. The 25th the head quarters of Marlborough were established at Langenau. Here we discover in his correspondence with the duchess, a pleasing indication of sympathy with the sufferings of his troops.

"*June* 14–25.—As I was never more sensible of heat in my life than I was a fortnight ago, we have now the other extremity of cold; for as I am writing I am forced to have fire in the stove in my chamber. But the poor men, that have not such conveniences, I am afraid will suffer from these continual rains. As they do us hurt here, they do good to prince Eugene on the Rhine, so that we must take the bad with the good."

On the 26th the confederates again moved and took post between Herbrechten and Giengen, with the Brentz in front, two leagues from the enemy. On the following day general Churchill arrived with the foot and artillery, and two battalions of prussian infantry, who had joined him in his march. Marlborough reviewed them as they passed to take their post in the lines, and was highly gratified to observe that their recent fatigues had not affected their gallant air and healthy appearance. The junction of all the forces being now complete, except that of the danish horse, under the duke of Wirtemberg, the combined army amounted to 96 battalions and 202 squadrons, with a train of 48 pieces of artillery, and 24 pontoons.

We here insert a letter to his wife, which not only displays the feelings of our great commander at this trying crisis, but indicates that ardent conjugal affection, and keen sensibility to public censure, which pervades his correspondence. It shews also that singular facility with which he could bend his attention to trifles even in the midst of the most serious occupations.

"*Giengen, June* 18–29.—Since my last, I have

had the happiness of receiving yours of the 30th of the last month, and the 1st and 2d of this. It is not only by yours, but by others that I find that there are several people, who would be glad of my not having success in this undertaking. I am very confident, without flattering myself, that it is the only thing that was capable of saving us from ruin, so that whatever the success may be, I shall have the inward satisfaction to know that I have done all that was in my power, and that none can be angry with me for the undertaking, but such as wish ill to their country and their religion, and with such I am not desirous of their friendship.

"The english foot and cannon joined me two days ago, but I do not expect the danish horse till six or seven days hence, till which time, we shall not be able to act against the elector of Bavaria, as I could wish. You will easily believe that I act with all my heart and soul, since good success will in all likelihood give me the happiness of ending my days with you. The queen's allowing you to say something from her is very obliging. I shall endeavour to deserve it; for I serve her with all my heart, and I am very confident she will always have the prayers and good wishes of this country.

"You have forgot to order Hodges to send me a draught of a stable, as I directed him, for the lodge; for it ought not to be made use of till the year after it is built; and as I see you set your heart on that place, I should be glad all conveniencies were about it."

CHAPTER 23.

1704.

Defensive dispositions of the elector of Bavaria.—Defeat of his troops on the Schellenberg.— Misunderstanding between Marlborough and the margrave of Baden.— Letter from the emperor on the victory.

The advance of the confederates towards the camp of the enemy, indicated the developement of the plan to secure Donawerth as a place of arms for the invasion of Bavaria. The gallo-bavarian army occupied a formidable position between Lawingen and Dillingen, with the Danube in the rear, and the front strongly fortified and covered with inundations. To secure the passage leading through Donawerth, the elector detached general d'Arco, with 10,000 infantry and 2500 cavalry, to occupy the Schellenberg, a commanding height north of the Danube. By this skilful disposition, he hoped to cover his own dominions, and hold the confederates in check, till he could receive the additional reinforcements which he expected from France.

Marlborough penetrated the design, and became doubly anxious to realise his plan. After a conference with the margrave, he extorted his consent to advance with the army, and resolved to profit by the alternation of the command on the ensuing

day, to attack the troops on the Schellenberg, before they could be still farther strengthened. On the first of July, therefore, the whole army under the direction of the margrave, defiled before the electoral camp, the avenues of which were watched by general Bulow, with a body of cavalry. Directing their march towards Donawerth, the confederates encamped in the evening between Amerdingen and Onderingen, about fourteen miles from the foot of the Schellenberg.

So bold an enterprise as that which Marlborough prepared to execute, might have daunted a spirit less determined and persevering. He had yet a long march to make, encumbered with a heavy train of artillery, and over roads drenched by incessant rains. With these disadvantages, he was to attack a position of formidable strength, and defended by an ample force. He was conscious, however, that if he failed to accomplish his purpose, while invested with the temporary command, the ensuing day would be wasted by his colleague in deliberation, and that a delay of twenty-four hours would enable the enemy to receive reinforcements, and mature their measures of defence. To those who suggested their fears or doubts, he replied, "Either the enemy will escape or will have time to finish their works. In the latter case, the delay of every single hour will cost the loss of a thousand men."*

After another conference with the margrave, Marlborough with his usual humanity gave orders

* Falkenstein's Bayern, p. 808.

to establish an hospital for the wounded at Nordlingen. He also selected a detachment of 130 men from each battalion, amounting to 6000 foot and thirty squadrons of horse, to which were added three regiments of imperial grenadiers, furnished by prince Louis. * This detachment was to precede the army, and commence the attack. Measures were also taken for opening the roads and throwing bridges across the Wernitz, a deep and rapid stream which flows into the Danube about a mile from the foot of the Schellenberg.

Such being the preparatory arrangements of the evening, the detachment moved at three in the morning on the 2d of July, under the direction of the duke himself, and at five was followed by the army, which filed by the left in two columns along the main road, leading through Roerbach towards a height between Obermorgen and Weinstein. At the same time the baggage and artillery in two columns, took the route through Monachdeckingen to Harburg on the Wernitz, where it was to wait for farther orders.

About eight the advance with the quarter-master-general came in sight of the Schellenberg. They halted at Obermorgen, and immediately began to mark out a camp for the army on the left bank of the Wernitz.

At nine Marlborough himself reached the spot; accompanied by the officers who were to command in the attack, he proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and being observed, was

* Marlborough's letter to secretary Harley, July 3. State Paper Office.

saluted with a heavy cannonade from different points of their works.

The Schellenberg is a height overhanging Donawerth and the left bank of the Danube. It rises in a gradual though unequal ascent, which at the intended point of attack, was about a quarter of a mile. The summit forms a flat space, half a mile wide, on which the enemy were encamped in several lines.* Their left was supported on the covert way of Donawerth, and their order being adapted to the figure of the ground, their right was thrown back, on one of the channels into which the Danube is divided. Along the front was an intrenchment, which ran from the covert way of Donawerth, was connected with an old fort on the brow of the hill above, and embracing the summit descended on the opposite flank to the very bank of the river. Of this work the central part alone was in a state of defence, but the re-

* Great discordance is found in the different accounts of the numbers occupying the height of Schellenberg, one party endeavouring to lessen the shame of defeat, by under-rating their strength, and the other as anxiously over-rating it. Thus we find the gallo-bavarian force estimated as high as 32,000 men, and as low as 7000, which is the computation of d'Arco himself. The official accounts do not exactly accord even in the number of battalions and squadrons, but the lowest states the force at 22 battalions and 9 squadrons, which would make 12,000 men, allowing no more than 500 men to each battalion. This computation nearly agrees with the duke's account, derived from deserters after the battle; namely, 16 bavarian and 5 french battalions, and from 9 to 15 squadrons. We are therefore justified in stating the number to be at least 12,000.

Letter from the duke of Marlborough to the States, July 4. — From d'Arco to the elector — History of Europe, for July 1704. p. 350. — Falkenstein's Bayern — Lettre de Marsin à Chamillard, Juillet 9. — Memoires de Maffei — Lediard, v. i. p. 323. — Histoire de Marlborough, t. i. p. 352.

mainder was in a rapid progress of advancement. In front of the position to the right and left was open ground, that on the side of Donawerth being mostly uneven, broken by a ravine, and washed by a rivulet, which after skirting the foot of the hill, flows through the exterior works of Donawerth into the Danube. Opposite the center, the Boschberg, a thick wood stretched from the verge of the intrenchment, and gradually expanded itself to the border of a stream rising above Monheim. To the west of the Schellenberg, ran the great road leading from Nordlingen, through Donawerth, to Augsburg.

The enemy had planted two batteries, one near the old fort, the other near the point of the Boschberg. On the approach of the allied detachment, their out-posts set fire to the hamlet of Berg, situated on a gentle elevation beyond the rivulet, and drew back towards the main body.

Marlborough attentively noted the disposition of the enemy as well as the local peculiarities, and directing his view across the Danube, descried a camp marked out, with tents pitched on each wing.

It was occupied by a detachment of cavalry from the electoral army, and he afterwards found that the interval was reserved for a body of foot then on their march. Their object was to support and reinforce the troops on the Schellenberg.

Having completed his survey, he returned to meet the advanced detachment, which from the bad state of the roads did not reach the Wernitz till mid-day. After a short halt, to give rest to the troops and allow the army to approach, the

detachment crossed the Wernitz at three, over the stone bridge at Obermorgen. Pontoon-bridges were at the same time thrown across the stream below, and some squadrons of cavalry were sent into the Boschberg to form fascines, for the purpose of facilitating an entrance into the enemy's works.

In the midst of these preparations a messenger arrived from Eugene with the news, that Villeroy and Tallard were then at Strasburg making arrangements for detaching a powerful reinforcement to the elector. Incited by this intelligence, Marlborough did not even wait for the arrival of the imperialists, who were yet in the rear, but issued orders for the attack. The infantry destined for the enterprise being instantly in motion, Marlborough himself led them to the verge of the Boschberg, ranged them in four lines, and drew from the main body eight new battalions, who were either to act as a reserve, or prolong the attack to the right, if the first detachment did not embrace a sufficient extent of the enemy's line. Eight other battalions were ordered forward to sustain them, and the cavalry formed two lines in the rear. A battery was opened by the english beyond the houses of Berg; and soon afterwards the fire was increased by several pieces of german artillery.

The command of the attack was consigned to the dutch general Goor, and the first line was led by brigadier Ferguson. The whole was preceded by a forlorn hope of fifty chosen grenadiers under

lord Mordaunt, whose chivalrous spirit panted for distinction in so perilous an encounter.

The promptitude and decision of Marlborough confounded the gallo-bavarian commanders. On the first appearance of the allies, d'Arco, and Maffei his colleague, advanced beyond their outposts to reconnoitre; and descrying only some scattered parties of cavalry on the heights beyond the Wernitz, they at first considered them as mere detachments sent out to explore the country. Perceiving, however, fresh squadrons emerge from the woods, and the body increase without advancing, they concluded that a camp was forming on the spot, and returned to Donawerth to dine without the slightest prognostic of the impending attack. Scarcely had they sat down to table, before intelligence arrived which indicated the approach of the allied army. The two generals remounted their horses, and riding to the heights, were surprised to observe the opposite hills covered with troops, and columns filing over the Wernitz, or ascending the foot of the Schellenberg. Still they did not imagine that an army, fatigued by a tedious and difficult march, would hazard an attack towards the close of the day. Supposing that the allies would spend the remainder of the evening in preparation, they hastened the progress of the works, hoping in the night to complete their defences, and draw in the expected reinforcements.

General d'Arco, however, did not contemplate his situation with confidence or tranquillity. He surveyed the increasing mass of the allies in anxious silence, and for a considerable period

seemed absorbed in doubt and perturbation. It is the opinion of Maffei that he was alarmed by the imperfect state of his intrenchments, and hesitated whether he should defend or abandon the post committed to his care. At length the advance and developement of the allied columns, and the thunder of the artillery, roused him from his reflections. He ordered his troops to desist from work, and resume their arms, and made dispositions for a vigorous resistance. *

Within a few minutes the conflict began. Marlborough at first intended to penetrate through the Boschberg, and form a double attack against both faces of the intrenchment; but this design being frustrated by the thickness of the wood, the principal effort was made on the portion stretching from the fort to the point of the Boschberg. At six in the evening the signal was given, and the assailants advanced with a firm and deliberate step under a heavy fire from every point of the enemy's works commanding the line of their approach. When they arrived within the range of grape, the carnage became dreadful: general Goor, and many brave officers fell, and a momentary pause ensued. Order was speedily restored: other leaders supplied the places of the killed and disabled, and the assailants again moved forward with incredible firmness. On reaching the ravine, the foremost troops mistook it for the ditch of the intrenchment, and threw in their fascines; but being unable to pass, and the fire of the enemy increasing in viva-

* Memoires du Marquis de Maffei.

city and effect, they began to give way. The gallo-bavarians took advantage of the confusion, rushed from their works, and charged the broken ranks with the bayonet. They were repulsed principally by a battalion of english guards, who had almost singly maintained their ground, although most of the officers were either killed or wounded.

The assailants, however, continued to draw near the foot of the works; but the enemy, who had at first distributed their force along their whole front, recalled their troops from the right and left to the principal point of attack. By this combined effort their resistance was vigorous and obstinate, and sallying forth from the trenches they more than once became the assailants. Exhausted by repeated struggles, and thinned by a destructive fire, the allied infantry began once more to give way, when general Lumley with equal gallantry and decision led forward the horse, closed up his ranks to sustain the discouraged and suffering troops, and by his example and support prevented a repulse.

However heavy the loss of the allies, the strength of the enemy was equally shaken by this protracted conflict. The accidental explosion of some powder which had been brought forward for distribution, spread a sudden panic; and though the troops were led back to their posts, their numbers were rapidly diminished, and their spirits sunk under an assault which was continually renewed. At length the english and dutch were on the point of breaking into the intrenchment, when they were cheered

by the advance of the imperialists, led forward by the margrave in person. These troops passing the Wernitz below Berg, to prolong the attack on the right, drew up under the walls of Donawerth, with little annoyance from the scattered fire of two bavarian battalions, who were unskilfully posted on the ramparts, instead of lining the covert way. Advancing against the unfinished portion of the works between the fort and the town, they easily dispersed two french battalions left on the spot. The infantry experienced a trifling check from a charge of french cavalry; but the horse rushing forward repulsed the assailants, while the foot wheeling to the left, bore on the flank of the troops engaged with the english and dutch.

While the attention of the enemy was thus called to another quarter, the final effort was made at the principal attack. The regiment of dragoons, commanded by lord John Hay, dismounted to aid the infantry, but before they could scale the intrenchment, the gallo-bavarians disbanding, fled in the utmost disorder, some towards the village of Zirichsheim, some towards the bridge on the Danube, and others towards Donawerth.

Marlborough, who had greatly exposed his person in the conflict, and given his orders with his usual calmness, entered the works at the head of the first squadrons. He recalled the foot, who were in pursuit of the fugitives, and ordered the horse to charge and complete the victory. The route and carnage which ensued may be more easily conceived than described. Many were intercepted in their way to Donawerth, while many

hurrying to the bridge, broke it down by their weight, and were lost in the Danube. Others dispersing on every side, came in as deserters to the victorious army. D'Arco himself escaped with difficulty, and his son was among those who perished in the river. * Of the whole body only 3000 men rejoined the elector; sixteen pieces of artillery and all the tents were taken; the equipage and plate of the commander fell into the hands of the victorious soldiery.

In this desperate conflict the allies had no less than 1500 killed, and 4000 wounded, and their loss was particularly heavy in officers; the killed amounting to eight generals, eleven colonels, and twenty-six captains. Besides general Goor, the dutch general Beinheim was among the slain; the prince of Bevern and count Stirum were mortally wounded, and the margrave of Baden himself received a contusion in his foot. Marlborough particularly regretted the fate of Goor, who to great military talents and bravery, added equal zeal and integrity, and had rendered himself eminently useful during the preceding operations.

Scarcely was the conflict terminated before the night set in with a heavy rain. The duke paid particular attention to the state of the wounded, whose sufferings were greatly aggravated by this unfavourable change of weather. He then left a considerable body of troops to maintain possession of the intrenchments, and withdrawing with the

* From the accident which befell the son, the father himself is stated to have been drowned in one of Marlborough's dispatches.

remainder to the camp on the Wernitz, took up his quarters at Obermorgen. *

At the close of the engagement he dispatched an official account to secretary Harley, and in a short letter respectfully notified his victory to the queen.

" I most humbly presume to inform your majesty, that the success of our first attack of the enemy has been equal to the justice of the cause your majesty has so graciously and zealously espoused. Mr. secretary Harley will have the honour to lay the relation of yesterday's action before you. To which I shall crave leave to add, that our success is in a great measure owing to the particular blessing of God, and the unparalleled bravery of your troops. I shall endeavour to improve the happy beginning to your majesty's glory, and the benefit of your allies."

But it is his private correspondence with lord Godolphin and the duchess, written on the day after the victory, which best exhibits his views and feelings in the moment of victory.

" You will see," he writes to Godolphin, " by Mr. secretary Harley's letter, that in our last camp I took the resolution of attacking the bavarians that were posted on the Schellenberg, which I did yesterday. It is a hill that commands the town of Donawerth, which passage on the Danube is what

* The account of this engagement has been drawn from Hare's Manuscript Journal of the Campaign — the Official Letters on both sides — Lediard, with the dutch and french biographers, — and the Memoires du Marquis de Maffei, who has given a circumstantial account of what passed in the gallo-bavarian camp.

would be very advantageous to us, for I would make the magazine for our army there. If we had the cannon ready, we could not fail of taking it; but our misfortune is, that all things are wanting here; but prince Louis assures me that we shall have 20 pieces of battery here in four days, which I am afraid is impossible. Our english foot have lost a great many, the heat of the action being on our left. I must refer you to Mr. Secretary's letter for such particulars as I am unable to write at this time. I am not able to do more than to thank you for three of yours, which I have received since my last letter, being so tired that I can hardly hold my pen; so that till the next post I must take my leave."

To the duchess he feelingly observes: — "I think myself so happy in my dearest soul's love, that I know she will be better pleased with two lines that I am well after the action we had yesterday, than with whole volumes on another occasion. It has pleased God, after a very obstinate defence, to have given us the victory, by which we have ruined the best of the elector's foot, for there was very little horse. My lord treasurer will let you see Mr. secretary Harley's letter, if you care to see what the action was. The english foot have suffered a good deal; but none of your acquaintance are hurt, except Mr. Meredith and major-general Wood, neither in danger.

"Now that I have told you the good, I must tell you the ill news, which is, that the marshal de Villeroy has promised the elector of Bavaria that he will send him, by way of the Black Forest,

50 battalions of foot, and 60 squadrons of horse, as he tells him in his letter, the best troops of France, which would make him stronger than we. But I rely very much on the assurances prince Eugene gave me yesterday by his adjutant-general, that he would venture the whole, rather than suffer them to pass quietly, as the last did.

" Let my dear children know I am well.

" You may let my lord treasurer know that I think the english have done so well that the cannon ought to fire for this victory."

The successful result of this action contributed to aggravate the misunderstanding which had already arisen from the discordant characters of the two commanders. Although the plan had been formed by Marlborough, and although it would never have been executed by his colleague ; yet as the margrave first entered the intrenchment, his partisans ascribed to him the chief honour of the victory. From the army this feud spread into Holland, where the faction which had already laboured to depreciate the talents of Marlborough, seized this plea to diminish the merit of his services, by striking a medal, representing on one side the head of the margrave, and on the other, the lines of Schellenberg, with the motto " Hoste cæso, fugato, castris direptis," &c. without any allusion to the skill and energy of the british commander. *

On the other hand, Marlborough in all his letters speaks with dislike if not contempt of his colleague ; and the official gazette only mentions him

* In Lediard, vol. i. p. 335.

incidentally among the superior officers who were wounded.

The dissatisfaction between the two chiefs hourly gained strength. In many of Marlborough's letters we find heavy accusations against the inertness of the margrave, and complaints that he was shackled in all his designs by the captious and jealous spirit of his colleague. The german commander was doubtless not wanting in recriminations; and his adherents depicted Marlborough as arrogant, suspicious, repulsive, and as boasting that he had marched into Germany, to give spirit to the natives and spurs to the french.

The british general, however, was consoled for these petty efforts of impotent malice, by the general applause of the public. The terror of his arms was not merely felt in France, but extended to those states who favoured the Bourbon cause in Italy. In a congratulatory letter, written on this occasion, the duke of Shrewsbury, who was then at home, observes:—

"I will not suspend your time with politic reflections, which you can make much better than I, but must tell you that in this holy, ignorant city they have an idea of you as of a Tamerlane; and had I a picture of old colonel Birch with his whiskers, I could put it off for yours; and change it for one done by Raphael."

At Vienna the benefit of his services was acknowledged with transports of gratitude. The victory of Schellenberg was hailed as the token of deliverance from the ruin which impended over the house of Austria. Every tongue was lavish in

praising the bravery of the english troops, the generous aid of the queen, and the zeal and conduct of the illustrious commander. "The whole court," to use the language of Mr. Stepney, "is quite changed *, and the young king of the Romans, even on his way to chapel, broke through the severe rules of austrian etiquette, to testify his exultation to the british minister."

The cold and phlegmatic Leopold, also, who had scrupled to lay aside the formalities of state in thanking the gallant Sobieski for the deliverance of Vienna †, was roused to an unusual transport, and wrote to the victorious chief a letter of congratulation in his own hand, an honour rarely conferred except on sovereign princes.

After thanking him for his care and diligence in bringing forward the succours furnished by the queen, he continues: —

"Nothing can be more glorious than the celerity and vigour with which after the junction of your army and mine, you forced the camp of the enemy at Donawerth; since my generals and ministers declare that the success of the enterprise, which is most acceptable and opportune to me, was chiefly owing to your counsel, prudence, and conduct, as well as to the bravery of the troops who fought under your command."

Having declared that he would omit no opportunity of rewarding his merits, and testified his hopes of farther success, he concludes: —

* Mr. Stepney to secretary Harley, Vienna, July 9. 1704. State Paper Office.

† House of Austria, v. i. p. 2. ch. 66.

" This will be an eternal trophy to your most serene queen in Upper Germany, whither the victorious arms of the english nation have never penetrated since the memory of man." *

* Translation from the original in the Blenheim Papers — also Lediard, vol. i. p. 419.

CHAPTER 24.

1704.

Consequences of the victory on the Schellenberg.—The gallo-bavarians commence their retreat to Augsburg.—The allies occupy Donawerth—Pass the Danube and Lech, and capture Rain, Aicha and Friedburgh.—The gallo-bavarians take post under the walls of Augsburg.—Negotiation with the elector of Bavaria—His country given up to military execution.—A principality of the empire again offered to Marlborough.—Application on the subject from the emperor to the queen.

Happily the apprehensions which Marlborough had expressed in one of the preceding letters, that the enemy would defend Donawerth to the last extremity, proved groundless. For the elector, after witnessing the defeat of his troops from the farther bank of the Lech, hastily rejoined the army, and commenced his retreat towards Augsburg, in which position he hoped to impede the operations of the confederates, at the same time that he preserved the communications which would enable him to receive succours from France. As the possession of Donawerth was inconsistent with this system of defence, he directed the garrison to withdraw, after setting fire to the magazines and bridge. But they were not sufficiently prompt in the execution of this order; for the confederates entered the town

at the moment of their retreat, and extinguished the conflagration before it had produced the intended effect. Marlborough was highly gratified by this unexpected success, as we find from a letter to the duchess, dated Donawerth, July 4.

"I writ to my dearest soul yesterday, giving her an account of God's having blessed us with a victory the day before, the effect of which has been, that we are now masters of this town, which will be of great advantage to us; since it will oblige the elector to retire into his own country, and give us the opportunity of posting ourselves between him and the french troops he expects. We should not have taken this place in ten days, if the garrison had not been frightened by the action they saw two days ago; for the bavarians were under the shot of their cannon, when we forced them.

"I am in great hopes we shall succeed, which will be for the eternal honour of her majesty; for not only the country, but the generals and soldiers all own their being saved, to her generous proceedings; as in truth it is very plain, that if her majesty's troops had not been here, the elector of Bavaria had been now in Vienna.

"Since this action, I have hardly had time to sleep, for lieutenant-general Goor helped me in a great many things, which I am now forced to do myself, till I can find some other officer I can rely on for it."

Bridges having been prepared, the army traversed the Danube in five columns on the 5th of July, and seized the greater part of the pontoons belonging to the enemy, together with a consider-

able quantity of meal, which had been abandoned in the confusion of the retreat. On the following day the confederates advanced as far as Heischeim, and took post between the Zusam and the Schmutter. At the same time the danish horse arriving, were incorporated in the line of battle; and thus the whole army, which had marched in so many different divisions, was united without the loss of a single corps. From this camp Marlborough explains to Godolphin his situation and views.

"*July* 6. N. S.—We are now taking care for a passage over this river of Lech, and then we shall be in the heart of the elector's country. If he will ever make propositions it must be then. The marshals de Villeroy and Tallard are separated. The latter is to join the elector of Bavaria, and the duke de Villeroy is to act on the Rhine. Prince Eugene will be obliged to divide his army; so that he may observe each of their motions. As for his person, it will be with that army that is to observe M. Tallard. * * *

"By all the intelligence we have, our last action has very much disheartened the enemy, so that if we can get over the river to engage them, I no ways doubt but God will bless us with the victory. Our greatest difficulty is, that of making our bread follow us; for the troops that I have the honour to command cannot subsist without it, and the germans that are used to starve, cannot advance without us. The duke of Wirtemberg has sent orders to his country for two hundred waggons, to help bring on our stores, and I have promised to pay

them for a month, which time I hope will finish our business in this country."

As the Lech was deep, broad and rapid, and the enemy had taken the precaution of destroying the bridges, considerable attention was necessary to secure a passage. Colonel Cadogan having selected a proper point near Gunderkingen, was supported by a detachment of 4000 men and 12 pieces of cannon, while laying the pontoons. This operation was effected on the 7th; and the same evening the sustaining corps with an additional force of 6000 men, took post on the opposite bank. The views of the confederates being thus developed, the bavarian garrison of Neuburg retired to Ingoldstadt; the place was immediately occupied by a body of horse; and a detachment of 3000 men, which had been left on the other side of the Danube, under the imperial general d'Herbeville, was ordered to advance and secure so important a point of communication.

As the elector, by halting at Augsburg, had now evinced his design of sacrificing all other considerations, for the sake of the succour expected from France, a resolution was taken to turn the tide of war into his unfortunate country. The confederates accordingly moved on the 8th to Gunderkingen, and passing the Lech during the following day, encamped on the 10th between Stauda and Mittelstetten. According to the order of battle their force amounted to 73 battalions and 174 squadrons.

Information of these proceedings was transmitted to Godolphin.

"*July* 9.—You will see by my letter to Mr. secretary Harley, that the enemy has not recovered the great blow they received at the Schellenberg; for their consternation is yet such, that as soon as they knew our bridges were made over the Lech, they immediately quitted Neuburg, so that yesterday we sent dragoons for securing the town, till M. d'Herberville advances with 3000 men under his command; for this place is of very great consequence, since this town will make it easy for us to have all our provisions for the subsistence of the army, from the circle of Franconia.

"We shall to-morrow have all the army in the elector's country, so that if he will ever think of terms it must be now, for we shall do our utmost to ruin his country. The only hope the enemy seem to have, is the reinforcement the marshal de Villeroy has promised them: and that they may gain time for the junction, they are strongly encamped at Augsburg, by which they abandon the greatest part of the elector's country.

"We have heard nothing of prince Eugene since the 5th, so that we take it for granted that the marshal de Tallard has not pursued his march, which he began the 2d of this month; and I cannot but be of the opinion, that if he has a true account of what has passed at the Schellenberg, he will be desirous of having fresh orders from court before he advances farther."

In a letter to the duchess, of the same date, he exults in the reflection that he was liberated from the control of the dutch deputies and generals; an advantage from which he anticipates future success.

"The garrison which we have at Neuburg will give us the advantage of having bread for the army out of Franconia. I should not trouble you with this, but that I am extremely pleased to know, that I have it now in my power that the poor soldiers shall not want bread. I know that I make my court to my dear life, when I assure her that I take all the pains I am capable of to serve the public, and that I have great reason to hope that every thing will go on well; for I have the pleasure to find all the officers willing to obey, without knowing any other reason than that it is my desire, which is very different from what it was in Flanders, where I was obliged to have the consent of a council of war for every thing I undertook."

Though unable to oppose, the elector endeavoured to retard the progress of the confederates, by throwing a garrison of 400 men into Rain. It therefore became necessary to reduce a place, which in their farther advance would intercept their line of communication. With this view the army made a short march to Purkheim; and the heavy artillery being brought up, an attack was opened in form on the 13th by the count de Frise, who had been previously detached with a force of 9 battalions and 15 squadrons. During the halt occasioned by this operation, the most strenuous exertions were made in collecting magazines, and establishing communications across the Danube and Lech. A reinforcement of 30 squadrons was also dispatched to Eugene, with the hope of impeding the advance of the french reinforcements.

Neither labours nor anxiety could, however,

divert the cares of Marlborough from those who shared his tenderness. From Purkheim, we find him conveying consolation to the duchess, for the loss of their son, in a style of peculiar delicacy and affection.

"*July* 13. — Since my last I have had the happiness of yours of the 13th and 16th of last month, and am very sorry to see that you have had a return of the illness, that I saw you have once at St. Alban's. I conjure you not to neglect taking advice and doing what may be proper for preventing it in future; for if you will make me happy now, you must live long, and not have melancholy thoughts of what is passed; for I do assure you I place all my hopes in ending my days quietly with you, and to be contented with the children that it has pleased God to continue to us.

"My blood is so heated, that I have had for the last three days a violent head-ache; but not having stirred out of my chamber this day, I find myself much easier, so that I hope to-morrow morning to be very well. Lord treasurer will let you know all the news that I have writ to Mr. secretary Harley. Pray tell my dear children, that I hope in ten days time to have so much leisure as to write to them. I hope in God my next will tell you I am quite well."

The garrison of Rain having surrendered on the 16th, the army resumed their march on the following day, encamping with the right at Holtz, and the left at Oesterhausen. The 18th they advanced to Aicha, where after some hesitation they were admitted by the inhabitants. On the 19th they

proceeded towards Friedberg, of which the garrison did not venture to wait their nearer approach, as we find by a letter from Marlborough to secretary Harley, dated Friedberg, July 25.

" My last to you was on Sunday, from Aicha. We advanced about two leagues towards this place, and halting yesterday in the morning, I took out the picket of the left, with a detachment of 500 foot, and came to view this ground, and reconnoitre the enemy's camp. Upon my approach to the town, the garrison, consisting of 200 horse, and as many foot, retired with great precipitation to their camp, on the other side of the Lech, close to Augsburg. Whereupon the magistrates brought me the keys, and I took possession with the 500 foot and 100 horse. This morning the whole army came and encamped, with the right at Wolfertshausen, and the left at Osmaring, this town being in the center of the line, within a league of the city, whereof we have a perfect view, as well as of the enemy's camp."*

Rapid as these movements may appear, the progress of the confederates was not sufficiently rapid to satisfy the aspiring views of the British commander. With that promptitude of decision which marked his conduct, he entertained sanguine hopes of reducing Munich before the elector could recover from his consternation, and with the capital to secure the conquest of all Bavaria. But here, as elsewhere, it was his misfortune to be restrained in his extensive designs by the want of means; for he was unable to obtain the artillery and stores

* State Paper Office.

which had been promised by the margrave of Baden for the siege. To this disappointment we find him alluding in his correspondence, though he concealed his chagrin from the public, that he might not wound the feelings of the german commander.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*July* 31. — For want of cannon, and the king of France doing all he can to succour the elector, we shall be obliged to take such measures as our wants will permit us; but you may be assured if they give us any opportunity we shall be glad to come to a battle; for that would decide the whole, because our troops are very good. But our misfortune is, that we want every thing for attacking towns, otherwise this would have been dated from Munich."

To the duchess, after adverting to the feuds which had arisen in Portugal, he continues: —

"I do not wonder that there are complaints against the portuguese; for where there is not success, complaints are a necessary consequence. I think the best service we can do the queen, is to do the utmost to forward the service with what one has, and not to think one is excused, when there may be just reason for complaint. The army I am joined with has neither cannon nor money, which are two very necessary things for success; but I am very far from complaining, knowing very well that they are as desirous of having it as I am, so that I hope another year they will be better provided."

The consternation which the victory of Schellen-

berg produced in the bavarian army, was deep and universal; but on the elector himself, though a prince of the highest spirit and bravery, the blow fell with accumulated effect. He lost that gaiety and affability which had hitherto given animation to his troops; and in discoursing on the catastrophe, the tears ran down his cheeks as he adverted to the fate of his favourite regiments. In this disposition, hope was entertained that he would submit to such terms as might save his country from the horrors of military execution. Accordingly a negotiation, which was commenced before the engagement by Marlborough, and broken off in consequence of the exorbitant demands made by the elector, was resumed. The consent of the emperor was with difficulty extorted, and the necessary powers and instructions were confided to count Wratislaw, while the interests of the elector were managed by M. Reichardt, one of his secretaries. During the recent movements of the army, several communications had taken place; and the conditions were at length so far arranged, that the elector promised to meet the austrian plenipotentiary on the 25th of July, and ratify the articles which had been concluded by his agent. The terms were neither dishonourable to his character, nor insulting to his feelings: he was to obtain the restoration of his dominions, and a subsidy of 200,000 crowns, to furnish 12,000 men for the service of the emperor.

The hope of a satisfactory arrangement was, however, of short duration. The elector, who had yielded to the first shock, was encouraged to per-

severe, by the advance of the reinforcements under Tallard. Instead, therefore, of fulfilling his promise to meet the austrian plenipotentiary, and conclude the treaty, he sent his secretary to the appointed place with a message, announcing that since the french general was approaching to his succour with an army of 35,000 men, it was neither in his power, nor consistent with his honour, to desert an ally who made such efforts in his behalf. The confederates had now no other alternative, than to visit the offences of the prince on his unfortunate subjects. Numerous villages were burnt or destroyed, and the whole country was given up to military execution, as far as the vicinity of Munich. But although Marlborough was thus compelled to fulfil the most unwelcome duty which can fall to a general, his private correspondence shews that he felt as a man, and deplored the sad necessity to which he was reduced. In one of his letters to the duchess, he observes: —

"*July* 30. — The succours which the elector expects on Sunday, have given him so much resolution, that he has no thoughts of peace. However, we are in his country, and he will find it difficult to persuade us to quit it. We sent this morning 3000 horse to his chief city of Munich, with orders to burn and destroy all the country about it. This is so contrary to my nature, that nothing but absolute necessity could have obliged me to consent to it, for these poor people suffer for their master's ambition. There having been no war in this country for above sixty years, these

towns and villages are so clean, that you would be pleased with them."

In another he says, "You will, I hope, believe me, that my nature suffers when I see so many fine places burnt, and that must be burnt, if the elector will not hinder it. I shall never be easy and happy till I am quiet with you."

He also used his utmost exertions to restrain the wanton depredations of the german soldiery, and in his correspondence with the duchess, he particularly expresses his satisfaction that he had saved the luxuriant woods and forests, which at once formed the riches and ornament of the country.

In one of the preceding letters, Marlborough communicates an offer which had been secretly made by the emperor, through count Wratislaw, to reward his services with a principality of the empire. Amidst the transports of joy produced by the victory of Schellenberg, the proposal was renewed in still more pressing terms, and forms a prominent subject in the correspondence of Marlborough, during his progress in Bavaria. Writing from the camp at Purkheim to the duchess, July 16, he says: —

"As to what is proposed by the emperor, I should be glad the lord treasurer and you should be informed of my intention in this matter, which is, that I have no thought that this should change my name or rank in England. But as none of my nation ever had the like, I think it may remain in after times, as an honour to the queen and to me. After all, I am very sure I will cheerfully sub-

mit, not only in this, but in all things that may concern me, to what shall be thought best by the queen, the lord treasurer, and you."

In a subsequent letter, from Aicha, he observes:–

"Count Wratislaw has by order again pressed me. I made no other answer, than that I was very sensible of the honour the emperor intended me, but that the queen's pleasure was to govern me in this, as in all things else. He then told me that the emperor had writ to her majesty, and that he had ordered his minister at London to desire an audience, in which he was to explain the emperor's intentions, and to desire that her majesty would lay her commands upon me. I beg you will let the queen know, that whatever is agreeable to her in this matter, is what I shall like best."

Before, however, the answer of the queen could reach the army, Marlborough had acquired a new and higher title to this honourable distinction.

CHAPTER 25.

1704.

Advance of Tallard from the Rhine. — His junction with the elector of Bavaria. — Arrival of Eugene in the plain of Blenheim. — Critical situation of the confederates. — Skilful manœuvres of Marlborough to unite the two armies. — Investment of Ingoldstadt by the margrave. — Movement of the gallo-bavarians to the left bank of the Danube. — Communications of Eugene and Marlborough. — Passage of the Danube by Marlborough, and junction of their forces on the Kessel. — Position of the french at Hochstadt. — Preparations and movements of the confederates for an engagement. — Description of the valley of the Danube. — The scene of the approaching conflict.

MEANWHILE the movements of the enemy created new embarrassments, and called forth the vigilance and resources of the british commander. Marshall Tallard, after losing five days in a fruitless attempt on Villingen, forded the Danube at Mosskirk, and emerged into the plains between Ulm, Biberach, and Memmingen. Leaving Ulm to the north-west, he made a rapid march through Weissenhorn towards the Schmutter; and at Biberbach* came in communication with the electoral

* Biberbach on the Schmutter. Several of the writers on this campaign have mistaken this Biberbach for the Biberach near Ulm.

army, which had continued to maintain the position of Augsburg.

Prince Eugene, who had made a parallel march from the Rhine with a force of 18,000 men, reached the plains of Hochstadt, about the same time that the enemy effected their junction. The two confederate armies were thus too distant to afford mutual assistance; and might have been overwhelmed by superior numbers, had the enemy united and made a rapid movement against either, before they could come in contact. Their union was, however, by no means easy to be accomplished. If Eugene attempted to join the confederates in Bavaria, the gallo-bavarians by a retrograde march might have crossed the Danube, and interrupted the communication with Franconia and Wirtemberg. If Marlborough and the margrave retraced their steps to unite with Eugene, the enemy by traversing the Lech might have regained possession of Bavaria, and perhaps have forced them to abandon all the country south of the Danube.

So critical a situation required the most accurate combinations, and no less decision than activity; for at the same time that the confederate generals were to guard against the enterprises of an enemy occupying a central position, it was necessary to take measures for a speedy junction of the two armies on either bank of the Danube.

Marlborough and the margrave accordingly broke up from Friedberg, moved by Aicha towards Neuburg, and on the 6th of August encamped on the Paar near Schrobenhausen. At

this awful crisis Eugene himself repaired to the quarters of Marlborough, to concert their future operations. As they could not maintain their footing in Bavaria, without the possession of Ingoldstadt, the margrave was readily persuaded to undertake the siege of a fortress which had hitherto never opened its gates to a conqueror. A double object was thus gained; for besides the advantage to be derived from the reduction of so valuable a post, Marlborough and Eugene would be delivered from the presence of a colleague, whose captious and unaccommodating temper was likely to clog their movements. The 7th was spent in reconnoitring the ground between the Paar and the Lech, for a strong defensive position, and in making arrangements with the margrave for the intended siege. On the ensuing day the army proceeded to Sandizel, from whence they could anticipate the expected movements of the enemy, either by advancing to Neuburg, or approaching the bridges laid near the conflux of the Lech and the Danube. On the 9th, the margrave with 23 battalions and 31 squadrons departed for Ingoldstadt; and reports that the gallo-bavarians had united and were marching towards the Danube, induced Marlborough to advance to Exheim. Here prince Eugene took his leave, to rejoin his own army; but scarcely had two hours elapsed, before he hurried back to apprise his colleague that the enemy were in full march towards Dillingen. This movement left no doubt of their intention to pass to the farther bank of the Danube, and overwhelm the small force left in the plains of Hochstadt. The

troops of Eugene accordingly fell back to the Kessel, and the whole activity of Marlborough was employed to gain the other side of the Danube, before the enemy could effect their purpose.

This, however, was an arduous operation; for besides the length of the march, the troops had to traverse the Aicha, the Lech, the Danube and the Wernitz, all of which had been swollen by the late rains. It was nevertheless effected with his usual rapidity and success. At midnight of the 9th, the duke of Wirtemberg was detached at the head of 28 squadrons, with orders to traverse a pontoon bridge at Merxheim, and join the cavalry of Eugene. Soon afterwards general Churchill was sent with 20 battalions, accompanied by the artillery and baggage, to pass at the same point, and wait on the left bank for farther directions. The 10th in the morning Marlborough broke up with the main body, and at sunset pitched his camp between Mittelstadt and Peuchingen, with Rain in the front, and took up his quarters in the abbey of Nieder Schonfeldt, near the bridge leading to Merxheim. To quiet the alarms of the margrave, he promised to cover the siege of Ingoldstadt; and at the same time requested him to relieve a brigade posted at Neuburg, that it might rejoin the army.

While waiting for intelligence, he beguiled the anxious hours by writing an affectionate letter to the duchess, and imparting his situation and designs to Godolphin and Harley. We shall not advert to the dispatch addressed to the secretary, which has been already published, but shall introduce his confidential communication to Godolphin.

" *Nieder Schonfeldt, August* 10.

" By this post you will know that the elector and the two marshals are marched with their whole army towards Lawingen, where they intend to pass the Danube, by which they abandon the whole country of Bavaria to prince Louis, having left only garrisons in Munich and Augsburg.

" I have this day ordered 28 squadrons and 20 battalions of foot to pass the Danube, for reinforcing prince Eugene's army at Donawerth, and have given the necessary orders that I may follow with the whole army, as soon as I shall be certain that the elector and the marshals have passed the Danube with their whole army. By this march they intend to draw more troops from the marshal de Villeroy's army; but we hope the situation of the country is such, that they will not be able to hinder us from going on with the siege, though they should be something stronger than we. When prince Eugene and I are joined, our army will consist of 160 squadrons, and 65 battalions. Prince Louis has with him, for the siege of Ingoldstadt, 31 squadrons and 24 battalions. The french make their boasts of having a great superiority, but I am very confident they will not venture a battle. Yet if we find a fair occasion we shall be glad to embrace it, being persuaded that the ill condition of our affairs in most parts requires it. As we are now marching from the magazines we had at Aicha and Schrobenhausen, for our bread, I am afraid I shall be much put to it to get bread for the first ten days, notwithstanding the 200 waggons I am

obliged to keep, without which we could not march till we had our magazines first made."

Marlborough had scarcely retired to enjoy a short interval of rest, before an express arrived from Eugene, announcing that the enemy had crossed the Danube, and pressing for immediate succour. Indeed on returning to his camp, he found that the officers left in command had taken the alarm, and were preparing to fall back to the Schellenberg. As he was already joined by the duke of Wirtemberg, and as general Churchill was in a situation to support him, he maintained the line of the Kessel, with the cavalry; while he sent his baggage to Donawerth, and his infantry to the Schellenberg, with orders to prepare the intrenchments for defence. By repeated messengers he urged Marlborough to accelerate his march, from a conviction that the enemy would advance on the ensuing day, because their detachments had already appeared near Steinheim.

The exertions of Marlborough were commensurate with the peril of the crisis. At midnight general Churchill received orders to advance and join Eugene, and within two hours the main army was in motion. For the sake of expedition, the second line, with the rear guard, passed the Danube over the bridge at Merxheim, while the first traversed the Lech opposite Rain, and the Danube at Donawerth; and at four in the afternoon the different columns filed over the Wernitz, under the eye of the commander himself. At six a communication was opened with Eugene, and the junction being

completed at ten *, the combined armies encamped between Erlingshofen and Kessel-Ostheim, with the Kessel in their front, and the Danube on the left. The brigade of general Rowe, reinforced by a battalion of english guards, was pushed across the rivulet, to take post in front of Munster. At the dawn of the 12th, the generals were gratified by the arrival of the baggage and artillery, which had marched no less than 24 english miles on the preceding day.

It was the intention of Marlborough and Eugene to advance beyond the Nebel, and take up a position in the vicinity of Hochstadt. For this purpose, during the morning of the 12th, they proceeded at the head of the grand guards, to survey the ground in their front, and procure intelligence. On approaching Schweningen, they observed several hostile squadrons at a distance; but being unable to form an accurate judgment of their force, they ascended the tower of Dapfheim church, from whence they descried the quarter masters of the gallo-bavarian army, marking out a camp beyond the Nebel, between Blenheim and Lutzingen.

This discovery fulfilled the warmest wishes of the enterprising commanders. Aware that the confusion which is almost inseparable from a change of camps, presents the most favourable opportunity for an attack, they determined to give battle, be-

* This account of the movements for the junction of the two armies is drawn from the private correspondence of Marlborough, and the printed dispatches, compared with Hare's Journal of the Campaign, Milner, and the different biographers of Marlborough.

fore the enemy could strengthen themselves in their new position. With this view they dispatched 400 pioneers, to level a ravine formed beyond Dapfheim by the Reichen, and the picket-guards were called out to protect the work. Returning from their survey, they had scarcely sat down to their repast, before intelligence arrived that the squadrons seen in the morning near Schweningen, were engaged with the pickets. The alarm was instantly spread; the two commanders remounted their horses, and directed the brigade of Rowe to file through Dapfheim, in support of the troops attacked. Several squadrons of cavalry, and twelve battalions of Marlborough's first line, commanded by lord Cutts, moved forward; and the prussian infantry, which formed part of the right wing, advanced towards the scene of conflict, along the skirt of the wooded eminences bordering the plain. The whole of the allied cavalry were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and the infantry prepared for action. But the alarm proved false; for the enemy being detached only for the purpose of gaining intelligence, retired after making a few prisoners. Two brigades under the command of general Wilkes and brigadier Rowe, were accordingly left for the defence of the pass, and the rest of the troops returned to camp.

Meanwhile the gallo-bavarians entered the position marked out, and extended their lines along the elevated ground, stretching from Blenheim to Lutzingen. Marshal Tallard took up his quarters

at Blenheim, Marsin at Oberglauh, and the elector at Lutzingen.

As the preparations of the confederate generals indicated an approaching engagement, some officers, who were well acquainted with the superiority of the hostile forces, and the strength of their position, ventured to remonstrate with Marlborough on the temerity of the attempt. He heard them with calmness and attention; but conscious that the enemy would speedily fortify their position, while Villeroy advancing into Wirtemberg, would cut off the communication with Franconia, from whence the army drew the principal supplies, he answered, " I know the danger, yet a battle is absolutely necessary, and I rely on the bravery and discipline of the troops, which will make amends for our disadvantages." In the evening orders were issued for a general engagement, and received by the army with an alacrity which justified his confidence.

At this solemn crisis Marlborough felt a deep and awful sense of his own responsibility, as well as of the impending peril. He devoted part of the night to prayer, and towards morning received the sacrament from the hands of his chaplain, Mr. Hare, with marks of the warmest devotion. He then took a short repose, and employed the remaining interval in concerting with Eugene the various arrangements for a battle, which appeared to involve the fate of the christian world.

It is here proper to cast our view over the ground which was to become the theatre of conflict. The

valley of the Danube, which stretches from the Kessel north-west to Dillingen, is seven english miles in length, and irregular in breadth. The widest part is from the sources to the mouth of the Nebel, a distance of nearly three miles, the narrowest near Dapfheim, where the wooded eminences advance within half a mile of one branch of the Danube. On one side, the Danube winds in a tortuous bed, 300 feet broad, in no point fordable, and between banks either precipitous or swampy. On the opposite side, the valley is bounded by a series of wooded eminences, which vary its outline, by spreading into different ramifications. From these flow numerous rivulets, which descend into the Danube; and the whole space is intersected by ravines, and dotted with towns, villages, and dwellings.

In reference to the events of this memorable day, the whole valley may be divided into three parts. The first from the Kessel to the Nebel, the second to the Schwanbach, the third to Dillingen. For the features of the first and last we shall refer to the plan, only calling the attention of the reader to the defile of Dapfheim, where a narrow pass might have enabled the enemy to oppose considerable obstructions to the advance of the allies, had they been sufficiently prompt in seizing the advantage.

The middle portion, which was the scene of conflict, merits a more particular description. Here the valley is not only more capacious, but more thickly dotted with villages and dwellings. Nearly

in the middle runs the Nebel, or Hasel *, which derives its waters from several sources rising in the heights above Schwenenbach, and Lutzingen, and from Oberglauh, flows into the Danube in a single channel. At the mouth, the breadth is no more than twelve feet. Near the confluence is Blenheim *, which is divided from the Nebel by a narrow slip of swelling ground; while behind the village commences a flat eminence or table land, which expanding as it bends towards Oberglauh, slopes gently on the right, and is bounded on the north-west by the range of woody hills, above Lutzingen. In the lower, or south-eastern part of this eminence, rises a streamlet called the Meulweyer, which flowing through Blenheim in a double channel, is soon lost in the Danube.

Nearly two miles above Blenheim is Oberglauh, seated on the acclivity, about musket shot from the Nebel, and on the opposite side is Unterglauh, standing on the very brink of the stream. The ground bordering the Nebel, particularly between Oberglauh and Blenheim, is generally marshy, and in many places impassable. Below Unterglauh the morass expands to a considerable breadth, and nearer Blenheim is a species of islet, formed by a channel cut into the boggy soil, for the purpose of

* The names of these places are differently spelled according to the german, french, and english orthography. Blenheim is properly Plintheim, called also Blindheim, but use has consecrated the first appellation. Dapfheim is called Tapfheim and Thiffingen; Weilheim, Rotweiler; Kremheim, Greinheim and Gremen. The Nebel is also denominated Hasel. Oberglauh and Unterglauh are properly written Oberglauheim and Unterglauheim; Lutzingen is also denominated by Tallard, Leitzeim.

receiving the superfluous water from a spring, which rises near the foot of the acclivity. On the main stream, a little above Blenheim, are two water-mills, which were well adapted to serve as redoubts for impeding the passage. Between Unterglauh and Blenheim, near the point of the islet, is a stone bridge, over which runs the great road from Donawerth to Dillingen.

Higher up, in the gorge of the mountains, about a mile to the east of Oberglauh, is Lutzingen, bordered on the north and east, within musket shot, by woods and ravines.

On the left of the Nebel the plain is uneven, and partly covered with brush-wood. In the vicinity of Schwenenbach and Berghausen, the ground becomes more undulating. Near Weilheim, it rises into a gentle elevation, and consists of arable land as far as the village of Krenheim, which borders on the Danube.*

* For the description and plan of the valley of the Danube, I am indebted to major Smith. They are principally taken from the Survey of the Danube, now publishing; the Great German Map in above 200 sheets — and the New Map of Wirtemberg and Suabia — as well as the plans of the battles of 1796, published at Vienna, in the Grundsetze der Strategie, compared with the accounts of the different authors who have described the battle, and the observations of major the honourable George Blaquiere, who served with the austrian army in 1796, and was quartered at Hochstadt. Also, Conduite du Duc de Marlborough dans la presente Guerre, 1712.

CHAPTER 26.

1704.

*BATTLE OF BLENHEIM.**

On the memorable 13th of August, at two in the morning, the allied generals having detached their baggage to Rietlingen, broke up their camp, leaving the tents standing; and at three the troops, amounting to 52,000 men, passed the Kessel in eight columns. The right wing was commanded by Eugene, the left by Marlborough, and the ag-

* In this engagement it is as difficult to discover the respective numbers of the two armies as in most others, which in some degree arises from the uncertain mode of computation by battalions and squadrons.

The order of battle which is preserved in the king's library, states the confederate army at 66 battalions and 166 squadrons; but of these, some are admitted to have been absent, and others unaccounted for.

Tallard computes the army of Marlborough at 49 battalions of 500 men each, and 88 squadrons of 160; and that of Eugene at 18 battalions and 78 squadrons; in all, 67 battalions and 166 squadrons, or 38,000 infantry and 26,560 cavalry, a total of 64,560 men. This exaggeration is evidently intended to extenuate his defeat.

Marlborough, in his letter to the States, computed the combined troops at 64 battalions and 166 squadrons, of which 1500 horse were not present at the battle, making 32,000 infantry and 18,420 cavalry, allowing 500 for each battalion, and 120 for each squadron; to which number we may add about 1500 men, in consequence of the superior strength of the German squadrons. This statement justifies us in estimating the whole confederate force at 52,000 men.

Lettre du maréchal de Tallard à Chamillard, Nov. 5. 1704 — Campagnes de Marsin, t. ii. p. 30 — Letter from Marlborough to the States, Aug. 17. 1704 — Lediard, b. i. p. 405.

gregate force amounted to 52,000 men, with 52 pieces of artillery and a train of pontoons.

The army of Eugene, filing by the right, was divided into two columns of infantry and two of cavalry, the artillery following the infantry, and the cavalry closing the march. The army of Marlborough filing by the left, broke also into two columns of infantry and two of cavalry, the cavalry being on the left, and the artillery following the infantry. On reaching the bank of the Reichen, they came into parallel order and halted. Here the out-posts joined their respective corps. The two brigades of Wilkes and Rowe, which on the preceding evening had been stationed in front of Dapfheim, were formed into a ninth column, and reinforced with eleven battalions from the first line, and fifteen squadrons of cavalry. This column was designed to cover the march of the english and dutch artillery along the great road, and to attack the village of Blenheim, the possession of which

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According to Hare's Journal the component parts of the two confederate armies, were :

Army of Marlborough.			Army of Eugene.		
	Battalions.	Squadrons.		Battalions.	Squadrons.
British	14	14	Danes	7	... Prussians
Dutch	14	18	Prussians	11	... Imperial
Hessian	7	7			... Suabian
Hanoverian-Zell	13	25			... Franconian
Danes		22			... and Wirtemberg
	48	86		18	74

This estimate agrees with the computation of the duke in his letter to the States, in the number of the battalions; and of the squadrons herein mentioned, some were absent.

would facilitate the passage of the main army over the Nebel, and open the right flank of the enemy.

The troops of Marlborough were directed to form on the ground stretching from Welheim to Kremheim, while those of Eugene, passing along the skirts of the hills in the rear of Wolperstetten, Berghausen, and Schwenenbach, were to prolong the line to the extremity of the valley, as far as Eichberg. From these general arrangements it appears that the allied commanders intended to make their first efforts against Blenheim and Lutzingen, which covered the flanks of the enemy. The subsequent changes arose from the locality of the ground, and the order adopted by their antagonists. After these preliminary dispositions the troops resumed their march in silence. Meanwhile Marlborough and Eugene, escorted by forty squadrons, rode forward to observe the situation of the enemy. They were accompanied by the prussian general, Natzmer, who had been made prisoner in the battle fought here between Stirum and Villars, in the preceding year, and was acquainted with the local peculiarities. About six they descried the advanced posts of the enemy falling back on their approach, and at seven, reaching the higher ground near Wolperstetten, they came in full view of the hostile camp. From hence they could trace the course of the Nebel, and learned that it might be traversed at the houses and water-mills, near the right of the enemy; but that the islet and the banks towards Oberglauh were deemed too swampy to be passable. They observed also, that the ground on the hither side,

as far as Unterglauh, was sufficiently high to protect the passage of the rivulet, but that the plain beyond the farther bank, on which the troops must form for the attack, was commanded by the eminence occupied by the enemy. To these peculiarities they adapted their plan.

The morning being hitherto partially hazy, the gallo-bavarians did not even suspect the approach of the enemy. * Deceived by the intelligence which they had obtained from the prisoners taken on the preceding evening, they detached their cavalry to forage, and being persuaded that the allies were falling back on Nordlingen, they considered the guard which attended Marlborough and Eugene, as a body of cavalry pushed forward to cover this retrograde movement. But at seven, the fog dispersing, the heads of Eugene's columns were descried behind Berghausen, and the alarm was instantly given. Signal guns were fired to recall the foragers, and the advanced corps committing Berghausen, Schwenenbach, and Weilheim to the flames, fell back to the main body. Confusion pervaded the lines, the artillery was hurried for-

* If any doubt should remain, that the gallo-bavarian commanders were completely surprised, it will be removed by the avowal of Tallard himself, in a postscript to a letter, dated camp de Leitzheim, (the very morning of the battle.) " Ce 13, au point du jour les ennemis ont battu la générale à 2 heures, à 3 l'assemblée. On les voit en battaille à la tête de leur camp, et suivant les apparences ils marcheront aujourd'hui. Le bruit du païs est qu'ils vont à Nordlingen. Si cela est, ils nous laissent entre le Danube et eux; et par consequent ils auront de la peine à soutenir les etablissemens qu'ils ont pris en Bavière." — Campagnes de Tallard, t. ii. p. 140. From this letter, who could have supposed that in a few hours his whole army would have been defeated, and himself a prisoner.

ward, and the troops were observed hastening to form at the head of the camp.

The gallo-bavarian army consisted of 56,000 men *, and was drawn up in front of the tents, according to the order of encampment.

The united troops of the elector and Marsin formed on the left with the cavalry on their right, the army of Tallard on the right with the cavalry on the left, so that the centre consisted of horse and the wings of foot. This order was adopted on the supposition that the Nebel was impassable from Oberglauh to the mills. The lines extended from the commencement of the acclivity behind Blenheim, along the crest of the eminence to the rear of Oberglauh, and from thence crossing a branch of the Nebel, to the woods above Lutzingen.

As every moment afforded fresh indications of the approaching contest, Tallard proceeded to make ulterior arrangements. Hastening to Blenheim, he ordered a brigade of dragoons under the count de Hautefeuille to dismount, and form between the village and the Danube, behind a barricade of waggons. He then directed all the infantry

* Tallard admits that his own force consisted of 36 battalions and 44 squadrons, and that of Marsin of 41 battalions and 85 squadrons, besides 5 bavarian battalions and 23 squadrons posted on the extreme left, in all 82 battalions and 152 squadrons. Marlborough states them at 82 battalions and 147 squadrons.

We have, therefore, perhaps rather under-rated the number by computing the gallo-bavarians at 56,000 men, which gives a superiority of 4000 over the confederates.

Letters of Tallard and Marsin, already referred to in the first note — Correspondence of Marlborough.

of the first line, and part of the second, to enter the village, and placed the three brigades of Navarre, Artois, and Gueder, with their right joining the left of the dismounted dragoons, behind the pallisades which enclosed the gardens. The openings between the houses and gardens were closed with boards, carts, and gates. Behind the hedges to the left of the village, he posted the brigade of Zurlauben; in the centre among the houses, that of Languedoc to the right; in the rear the royal brigade; and behind the Meulweyer that of Montroux, to act as a reserve. Two hundred men were also thrown into the castle and church-yard, and small bridges formed across the Meulweyer to facilitate the communications. The mills on the Nebel and adjacent houses, which were likely to favour the approach of an enemy, were set on fire. A battalion of artillery was distributed on different points, and lieutenant-general de Clerambault was enjoined to maintain the village to the last extremity.

Eight squadrons of gens d'armes drew up to the left of Blenheim, and from thence the line, including the right wing of the electoral army, amounting to about fifty squadrons, was prolonged to near Oberglauh. Behind this village was the infantry of Marsin, consisting of the brigades of Champagne and Bourbonnois, and the Irish brigade, in all about 30 battalions. Beyond were more battalions extending to the left, and covering the flank of the cavalry, who were drawn up in front of Lutzingen. Strong pickets of infantry occupied Oberglauh, and 18 french and bavarian

battalions, who had at first been posted in Lutzingen, were drawn out to form an oblique flank among the woods, on the extreme left of the cavalry. * The second line of the united troops, under the elector and Marsin, was formed in the same order as the first, but in that of Tallard, were stationed three brigades of infantry in the center of the cavalry. Behind was a reserve of horse, which could not find a place in the lines. Tallard observing the increasing mass of the allies in the center, sent an aide de camp to his colleague, requesting that his reserve might likewise be posted behind the center, to resist the attack which he foresaw was meditated on that point; but this proposal was declined by Marsin, from an apprehension that his whole force would be required to withstand the attack of Eugene. †

The artillery was distributed with judgment. Four twenty-four pounders were planted on the high ground above Blenheim, to sweep the plain

* These battalions are generally considered as all bavarians, but without foundation; because from the account of Marsin, there were only five bavarian battalions in the army, the remainder of the electoral troops having been left in the different garrisons. It has likewise been erroneously asserted that the infantry, posted on the extreme left, amounted to only nine battalions, on the authority of Quincy and other french writers. This however could not have been the fact, for so small a number could not have resisted the attacks of 18 battalions of choice troops, like the prussians and danes. Besides in examining the french line of battalions, of which the position is not ascertained, we find several omitted. Probably the infantry on this wing were formed in two lines of nine battalions each, of which only the first line has been noticed.

† Lettre de Tallard à Chamillard, Novembre 3 — Campagnes de Tallard.

of Schweningen. Four eight-pounders were also pointed against the columns of Marlborough, as soon as they appeared about the high road leading towards Unterglauh. Before the gens d'armes was another battery of twenty-four pounders, and the other pieces were disposed along the front of the different brigades. Zurlauben, who commanded the right wing of Tallard's cavalry, was directed to charge the allies whenever a certain number should have crossed the Nebel. Tallard rode along his lines to the left, and communicated his arrangements to the elector and Marsin. The three generals then visited the other points of their position, to mature the preparations against the attack of Eugene, whose columns continued to stretch along the elevated ground behind Berghausen.

About seven the troops of Marlborough reached their respective points of formation, and began to deploy. Officers were detached to sound the Nebel, and indicate the spots which were most passable, and the different generals assembled round the commanders to receive their orders.

Two defects in the position of the enemy did not escape the vigilant eyes of the confederate generals. Blenheim and Oberglauh were too distant from each other to sweep the intervening space with a cross fire, and the lines of cavalry on the elevated ground were too remote from the rivulet to obstruct the passage. Of these defects they prepared to take advantage. While Eugene bore on the front and left flank of the troops under the elector and Marsin, Marlborough was to push his cavalry across the Nebel, under the protection

of his foot, and to charge the hostile cavalry, at the same time that the effort was made to carry Blenheim. With this view he ordered general Churchill to draw up the infantry in two lines, the first of seventeen, and the second of eleven battalions, in the direction of Weilheim; and between them an interval was left for the two lines of cavalry, the first of 36 and the second of 35 squadrons. Novel as this disposition may appear, it was skilfully adapted to the nature of the ground, and the situation of the enemy; for the first line of infantry by traversing the Nebel would cover the passage of the cavalry, while the second, acting as a reserve, would support the manœuvre from the hither bank. The pontoons being brought forward, the construction of five bridges was begun, one above Unterglauh, and four between that village and the mills, while the stone bridge, which had been damaged by the enemy, was repaired.

As a short interval of time was yet left, each squadron of the second line was ordered to collect twenty fascines to facilitate the passage of the fords.

During these preparations, the ninth column, destined for the attack of Blenheim, had filed through Schweningen, and inclining to the left above Kremheim, drew up in four lines of infantry and two of cavalry. The first line consisted of Rowe's brigade, the second of hessians, the third of Ferguson's, and the fourth of hanoverians. The first line of cavalry was formed by the dragoons of Ross, and the second by part of Wood's brigade.

At eight a heavy cannonade was opened from every part of the enemy's right wing. Marlborough therefore ordered colonel Blood, who had just arrived with the artillery, to plant counter-batteries on the most advantageous spots, particularly on the high ground below Unterglauh. He himself visited each battery as it opened, to mark the effect.

Meanwhile the imperialists had continued filing to the right, and the presence of Eugene became necessary to direct his attack. On taking leave of his colleague, he promised to give notice as soon as his lines were formed, that the battle might begin on both wings at the same instant.

While Marlborough waited for this communication, he ordered the chaplains to perform the usual service at the head of each regiment, and implore the favour of heaven; and he was observed to join with peculiar fervour in this solemn appeal to the Giver of Victory. After this act of devotion, he shewed his usual humanity in pointing out to the surgeons the proper posts for the care of the wounded. He then rode along the lines, and was gratified to find both officers and men full of the most elevated hopes, and impatient for the signal. As he passed along the front, a ball from one of the opposite batteries glanced under his horse, and covered him with earth. A momentary feeling of alarm for the safety of their beloved chief, thrilled in the bosoms of all who witnessed the danger; but he coolly continued his survey, and finding his dispositions perfect, sat down to

take refreshment, while he waited for the reports of Eugene.

At this period the cannonade grew warm and general. On the left the fire of the enemy was answered with spirit and effect; but on the right great difficulty occurred in bringing up the artillery; for the ground being extremely broken, covered with brush-wood, and intersected by ravines and rivulets, the troops of Eugene were obliged to make a considerable circuit before they could gain their intended position; and during their formation were exposed to a long and destructive fire. Unaware of these obstacles, and impatient of delay, Marlborough sent repeated messengers to learn the situation of his colleague. He was apprised that Eugene had formed his lines with the infantry on the right and the cavalry on the left; but as the enemy presented a more extensive front, he had found it necessary to fill up the interval with the reserve. This change of disposition was not only difficult in itself, but to the regret of Marlborough, retarded the attack at the moment when the arrangements on the left were completed, and the troops were anxiously expecting the signal to engage.

About mid-day, an aide de camp arrived with the joyful intelligence that Eugene was ready. Marlborough instantly mounted his horse and ordered lord Cutts to begin the attack on Blenheim, while he led the main body towards the Nebel, where the bridges were nearly completed.

At one the attack on Blenheim commenced.

The troops selected for this service inclined to the right, and descending to the bank of the Nebel, took possession of the two mills under a heavy fire of grape. Having effected their purpose, they drew up on the farther bank, where they were covered by the rising slip of ground. They then deliberately advanced towards the enclosures, and at the distance of thirty paces received the first discharge of the enemy. Many brave officers and soldiers fell; but the gallant general Rowe, who commanded the leading brigade, stuck his sword into the pallisades before he gave the word to fire. In a few minutes, one-third of the troops composing the first line were either killed or wounded, and all efforts to force their way against an enemy superior in number and advantageously posted, were ineffectual. General Rowe himself was mortally wounded by a musket ball. His own lieutenant-colonel and major were killed in attempting to remove the body, and the line, discouraged and broken, fell back on the hessians, who were advancing. At this moment three squadrons of gens d'armes charged the right flank of the disordered troops, and seized their colours, but were repelled by the hessians, who after recovering the colours, drove the assailants back to their line. Lord Cutts observing new squadrons preparing to advance, sent an aide-de-camp for a reinforcement of cavalry to cover his exposed flank; and general Lumley, who commanded nearest the spot, detached five squadrons under colonels Palm and Sybourg, across the Nebel.

Having cleared the swamp with difficulty, they had scarcely formed, before five squadrons of gens d'armes saluted them with a fire of musquetoons. The allied horse instantly charging sword in hand, drove them back through the intervals of the brigade of Silly, which was in the second line. They however suffered severely; for being galled in flank by the musketry from Blenheim, and assailed by the brigades in front, they were repulsed in disorder, and must have recrossed the Nebel, had not the brave hessians a second time repelled the french horse.

The enemy having placed four additional pieces of artillery upon the height near Blenheim, swept the fords of the Nebel with grape shot. But notwithstanding this destructive fire, the brigades of Ferguson and Hulsen crossed near the lower watermill, and advanced in front of the village. The enemy therefore withdrew the guns within their defences, and met the attack with such vigour, that after three successive repulses, the assailants halted under cover of the rising ground.

From the border of the Nebel Marlborough anxiously surveyed this unequal conflict. Finding that Blenheim was occupied by a powerful body, instead of a detachment of infantry, and observing that the enemy were drawing down towards the Nebel, to prevent his cavalry from forming on the farther bank, he ordered the troops of lord Cutts to keep up a feigned attack, by firing in platoons over the crest of the rising ground, while he himself hastened the dispositions for the execution of his grand design.

During this interval the passage of the Nebel was already begun by general Churchill, who had pushed a part of the infantry over the bridges in the vicinity of Unterglauh, which was still in flames. As soon as they began to form on the farther bank, the first line of cavalry broke into columns, and descended to the fords. Some threw fascines into the stream, or formed bridges with the planks of the pontoons, while others plunged into the water, and waded through the swamp towards the point of the islet. The enemy observed them struggling for a passage, and removing a part of the guns from Blenheim, enfiladed their crowded columns.

Scarcely had the confederate horse disengaged themselves, and begun to advance their right beyond the front of the infantry, before they were attacked by Zurlauben with the first line of cavalry, supported by the fire of artillery and musketry from Blenheim. Exhausted by their preceding efforts, and unable to present a connected line, they were borne down by the weight of the charge, and several squadrons on the left were driven to the very brink of the rivulet. Fortunately a part of the infantry was now sufficiently formed to check the pursuit of the enemy by a heavy fire, as soon as the broken troops had cleared their front; while the second line of cavalry advancing, several squadrons wheeled on the right of the french, and drove them behind the sources of the Meulweyer. These were incorporated with the first line; five additional squadrons were instantly led up to prolong the left; and the whole body in compact

order, halted on the hither bank of the Meulweyer, with the left flank stretching towards the outer hedges of Blenheim. They did not however long maintain their advantage; for two battalions of the royal brigade filing along the inclosures to the left of the village, opened a galling fire on their flank. The nearest squadrons gave way, and the hostile cavalry, except the gens d'armes, resumed their original position.

Meanwhile the passage of the Nebel was nearly completed in the center. The broken squadrons again rallied, notwithstanding the concentrated fire of the enemy on the fords; and by the exertions of general Lumley, the whole left was drawn up beyond the Nebel.

Hompesch, with the dutch cavalry, was likewise in line, and the duke of Wirtemberg began to extend the danes and hanoverians in the direction of Oberglauh. The remaining battalions of infantry were also rapidly moving into the assigned position.

In proportion as the lines extended, the conflict which had commenced in the vicinity of Blenheim, spread towards Oberglauh. The danish and hanoverian cavalry being charged by the right wing of Marsin, many squadrons were driven across the Nebel; and though they resumed the attack, yet being out-flanked and enfiladed by the fire of the troops in and near Oberglauh, they were again repulsed. While the battle fluctuated on this point, the prince of Holstein Beck, who had cannonaded the enemy from the elevation near Weilheim, descended to the Nebel, and began to pass with eleven battalions above Oberglauh. Scarcely,

however, did the head of this column appear beyond the rivulet, before it was charged by nine battalions, including the Irish brigade, which particularly distinguished itself. Application was made for support to the contiguous squadrons of imperial horse, which were drawn up within musket shot; but the demand being refused, the two foremost battalions were nearly cut to pieces, and the duke of Holstein Beck himself mortally wounded, and made prisoner.

Marlborough observed the disaster, and was conscious that not a moment was to be lost, in gaining a point on which the success of his plan depended. He galloped to the spot, led the brigade of Bernsdorf across the rivulet below Oberglauh, and posted them himself. He then ordered the artillery to be brought down from Weilheim for their support, and directed some squadrons of danes and hanoverians to cover their left. As the cavalry of Marsin evinced an intention to charge, he led forward several squadrons of the imperialists, and finally compelled the enemy to retire into Oberglauh, or to fall back beyond. By this prompt and masterly movement, he established a connection with the army of Eugene; for while this small body of infantry divided the attention of the enemy, and protected the left of the imperialists, who were forming above Oberglauh, they covered the right of the great line of cavalry, and masked the offensive movement which Marlborough meditated against Tallard.

It was now three in the afternoon, and Marlborough returned to the center, after dispatching

lord Tunbridge to announce his success, and learn the situation of his colleague.

Having described the progress of the battle on the left, we turn our attention to the army of Eugene.

About one the first onset commenced. The prince of Anhalt, who commanded the infantry, prolonged his line towards the gorge of the mountains, to take the enemy in flank, and traversed the main stream of the Nebel. Being, however, obliged to halt for the arrival of the artillery, his troops were exposed to the destructive fire of a battery in front of Lutzingen. At length a counter battery being placed near the verge of the wood, the troops again moved forward in columns, filing across the stream, and forming as they advanced. The danes attacked the enemy posted near the skirt of the wood, and the prussians driving back the hostile infantry, after a sanguinary conflict carried the battery, which had spread destruction through their ranks. At this moment, the imperial horse breaking into columns, forded the stream, and drove the first line of the bavarian cavalry through the intervals of the second. Being, however, broken in their turn by the second, they were pursued across the Nebel, to their original position on the border of the wood. Some of the hostile squadrons then wheeled to the left, fell on the flank of the prussian infantry, recovered the battery, and forced them to retreat.

At the distance of two hundred paces, the broken infantry made a stand, but being assailed by increasing numbers, were driven back with a heavy

loss. The danes, discouraged by the fate of their companions, relinquished the ground which they had gained, and a total rout might have ensued, had not the prince of Anhalt rushed into the thickest of the combat, animated the drooping spirits of the men, and drawn them back to the point where they were covered by the wood.

Meanwhile, Eugene rallying the cavalry, led them again to the charge. They were at first successful; but being unsupported by the infantry, and enfiladed both from Oberglauh and the battery in front of Lutzingen, were a second time broken, and fell back in disorder across the Nebel. Fortunately the dutch brigade of Heidenbrecht, which formed part of Marlborough's right, had now taken a position above Oberglauh. As these troops masked the movements of the imperialists, Eugene, after restoring order among his cavalry, again led them across the Nebel, and advanced towards the enemy.

Both parties being equally exhausted, they paused before they came in contact, at such a small distance, as enabled every individual to mark the countenance of his opponent. In this awful suspense, the elector was seen emulating the conduct of Eugene, riding from rank to rank, encouraging the brave, and rousing the timid by his voice and example. At the same time, the prince of Anhalt, after changing the front of the infantry, advanced obliquely, stretching the right of his line towards the wood, to take the enemy in flank. As soon as he had reached the proper

point, the signal for a new charge was given. But the imperial cavalry were discouraged by the double repulse: their onset was feeble, momentary, and indecisive; their line was again broken, and they fled in utter confusion a third time beyond the Nebel. In a transport of despair, Eugene left the prince of Hanover and the duke of Wirtemberg to rally the horse, and flew to the infantry, who still maintained the attack with incredible resolution. Stung by the prospect of defeat, he rashly exposed his person, and was in danger of being shot by a bavarian dragoon, but was saved by one of his own men, who sabred the trooper at the very moment he was taking the fatal aim. The daring example of the chief exciting the emulation of his troops, they at length turned the left flank of the enemy, and after a sanguinary struggle drove them back through the wood, and across the ravine, beyond Lutzingen. Still, however, their situation was perilous in the extreme. Unsupported by the horse, their very success had placed them in a position, from which it was difficult to retreat, and dangerous to advance, had the enemy been enabled to resume the attack.

In the midst of this protracted contest, the battle drew to a crisis on the left. The troops of Marlborough had finally effected the passage of the Nebel, and at five his dispositions were completed. The cavalry were formed in two strong lines, fronting the enemy, and the infantry ranged in their rear towards the left, with intervals between the battalions, to favour the retreat of such squadrons as should experience a repulse. In the course

of the successive efforts made by one party to maintain their ground, and by the other to advance, Tallard had interlaced the cavalry with nine battalions of infantry, originally posted in the second line. This skilful disposition being instantly perceived by the officers commanding on the correspondent point of the allied front; to counteract it, three battalions of hanoverians were brought forward, and placed in a similar manner, supported by several pieces of artillery. Amidst a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, the allies moving up the ascent, made a charge, but were unable to break the firm order of the enemy, and fell back sixty paces, though they still maintained themselves on the brow of the acclivity. After another awful pause, the conflict was renewed with artillery and small arms; the fire of the enemy was gradually overpowered; and their infantry, after displaying the most heroic valour, began to shrink from the tempest of balls which rapidly thinned their ranks. Marlborough seized this moment to make a new charge, and the troops pressed forward with so much bravery and success, that the french horse were again broken; and the nine battalions being abandoned, were cut to pieces or made prisoners. The consequence of this shock was fatal, for the right wing of Marsin's cavalry fell back to avoid a flank attack, and left an interval in the center of the line.

Tallard perceiving his situation hopeless, made a desperate effort, not for victory, but for safety. He drew up the remainder of his cavalry and the nearest squadrons of Marsin, behind the tents, in

a single line, with their right extended towards Blenheim, to extricate the infantry posted in the village, and dispatched an officer with orders for its immediate evacuation. At the same time he sent messengers to the left, pressing his colleague either to support him with a reinforcement, or make an offensive movement to divide the attention of his antagonists. But the mischief was irreparable. The elector and Marsin were too closely pressed to comply with his request; and Marlborough observing the weakness of his line, and the exposed situation of his right flank, saw that the decisive moment of victory was arrived. The trumpets sounded the charge, and the allied horse rushed forward with tremendous force. The hostile cavalry did not await the shock; but after a scattered volley, fled in the utmost dismay, the left towards Hochstadt, and the right, reduced to thirty squadrons, in the direction of Sonderheim. Marlborough instantly detached Hompesch, with thirty squadrons, in pursuit of the first, and himself with the rest of the cavalry following the remainder, drove many down the declivity near Blenheim into the Danube and the Schwanbach. Numbers were killed or taken in the rout, and many perished in the attempt to swim across the Danube.

A crowd of fugitives slipped under cover of the bank, and crossed the Schwanbach, hoping to reach Hochstadt; but being entangled in the morass bordering the Brunnen, and cut off from the high road by the dragoons of Bothmar, they took refuge in a coppice. In the terror of the

moment, some forced their way through the dragoons, and others plunging into the Danube, perished in the sight of their terrified companions. Among those who escaped, was the marquis de Hantefort. Joining the brigade of Grignan, which still remained in a body on the bank of the Brunnen, he advanced against the dragoons of Bothmar, and extricated the remnant of the gens d'armes, who were yet mounted. But fresh squadrons of the allies advancing, the french fell back to the height beyond Hochstadt, and withdrew the wounded, who had been carried thither in the heat of the engagement.

Still, however, marshal Tallard and several of his principal officers, with a body of cavalry, who had followed them in the rout, remained near Sonderheim. Cut off on one side by the allied horse, and on the other, unwilling to encounter almost certain death, by plunging into the Danube, they had no alternative but to submit to the fate of war. Tallard delivered his sword to the aide-de-camp of the prince of Hesse, and with him surrendered many officers of distinction. They were immediately conducted to the victorious commander, and received with all the attention which was due to their character and misfortune.

During these events, Hompesch had continued to press on the broken squadrons of the retreating enemy. They attempted to rally, after crossing the Brunnen near Diessenhofen; but on the approach of their pursuers, were seized with a panic, and fled towards Morselingen. At the same time two battalions of infantry, who had formed with

them, purchased their safety by yielding up their arms.

From the verge of the wood above Lutzingen, where Eugene had halted after his last attack, he witnessed the advance of his colleague, and the final charge, which ended in the wreck of Tallard's army. Observing the right of Marsin filing towards the rear, and the bavarian infantry pouring into Lutzingen, he rightly judged that his opponents were preparing to retreat. He instantly renewed the conflict with the infantry, though supported only by two squadrons, and forced his way through the woods and ravines towards Lutzingen. After an arduous struggle, his troops emerged into the plain, and he halted for the approach of the cavalry, who had pressed on the bavarian horse in their retreat. The flames, which burst forth at Oberglauh and Lutzingen, proved that the enemy had abandoned those places, and were hastening to withdraw from their perilous situation.

The attention of Marlborough was now turned to the movements of the elector and Marsin. Perceiving the advance of Eugene and the conflagration of Oberglauh and Lutzingen, he recalled the cavalry of Hompesch, and joining them with additional squadrons, prepared to charge the enemy, who were rapidly filing in good order along the skirt of the wood towards Morselingen. Such an attack would probably have terminated in the utter ruin of their whole army; but it was prevented by one of those accidents which often occur in the confusion of battles. The troops of Eugene

appeared behind those of the enemy, in a situation to bear on the flank of the victorious cavalry; and as the fall of night and the clouds of smoke which hung over the field, rendered the view indistinct, they were mistaken for a part of the electoral army. Marlborough, therefore, countermanded the order for harassing the gallo-bavarians in their retreat; and although closely pursued by the cavalry of Eugene, they drew up under cover of the wood between Lutzingen and Morselingen. Having collected the remnant of the defeated wing, they fell back on the approach of night in the direction of Dillingen.

The fate of the day was no sooner decided, than Marlborough taking from a pocket-book a slip of paper, wrote a hasty note to the duchess, announcing his victory.

"*August* 13. 1704.

"I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two, by another more at large.

"MARLBOROUGH." *

* This note is preserved in the family archives at Blenheim, as one of the most curious memorials which perhaps exists. It was written on a slip of paper, which was evidently torn from a memorandum book, and contains on the back a bill of tavern expences. The book may probably have belonged to some commissary, as there is an entry relative to bread furnished to the troops.

Colonel Parke, the aide-de-camp who was the bearer of this intelligence, requested to have the queen's picture, instead of the usual gra-

The fate of the troops posted in Blenheim, still remained undecided. They had witnessed the event of the battle, without making any attempt to escape; because the officer dispatched with the order, had been prevented from reaching the village, by the last fatal charge. Finding themselves insulated by the defeat of the cavalry, they used the utmost exertion to maintain their post to the last extremity. The commander, monsieur de Clerambault, being lost in the Danube, they were left without a chief and without orders, but awaited their destiny with a firmness which merited a better fate.

As soon as the plain was cleared, general Churchill led his infantry towards the rear of the village, and extended his right flank to the Danube; while general Meredith, with the queen's regiment, took possession of a small barrier which had been formed to preserve a communication along the bank, with Hochstadt. These movements roused the enemy from a state of sullen desperation. They first attempted to escape by the rear of the village, and being repulsed, rushed towards the road leading to Sonderheim. Here they were again checked by the Scots Greys, who were led forward to the crest of the acclivity by general Lumley. They finally attempted to emerge by the

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tification of £500; and the request was granted. His portrait, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, is still in the possession of William Dillon, esq., whose late wife was great niece to colonel Parke. He is represented with the queen's picture in miniature pendent from his neck by a red ribbon, the dispatch in his right hand, and the battle in the background.

Fac simile of the Note written in Pencil by the Duke of Marlborough to the Duchess on the Field of Battle at Blenheim.

1704

Aug: 13

Q R

I have not time to say more, but to beg You will give my Duty to the Queen, Let her know I am this Instant Riding Victory with Tallard and two other Generals are in my Custody and I am following the rest. I Refer you to my Aid de Camp Col Parker who will give you

Marlborough

opening towards Oberglauh, when eight squadrons of horse under general Ross, compelled them again to take refuge behind the houses and inclosures.

Though encompassed by inevitable perils, they obstinately maintained their post, and it became necessary to recur to a general attack on every accessible point of the village. Lord Cutts was ordered to occupy their attention on the side of the Nebel, while lord Orkney, with eight battalions, attacked the church-yard, and general Ingolsby, with four more, supported by the dragoons of Ross, endeavoured to penetrate on the side of the opening towards Oberglauh. Several batteries, planted within musket shot, co-operated in these attacks, and one of the howitzers set fire to several houses and barns.

A vigorous conflict appeared likely to ensue. But on one side the prospect of a sanguinary, though successful attack, and on the other, of a fruitless, though destructive defence, induced the contending parties to spare the effusion of blood. A parley took place, and the french proposed a capitulation; but general Churchill riding forward, insisted on an unconditional surrender. No resource remained: to resist was hopeless, to escape impossible. With despair and indignation, the troops submitted to their fate, and the regiment of Navarre, in particular, burnt their colours, and buried their arms, that such trophies might not remain to grace the triumph of an enemy. Twenty-four battalions and twelve squadrons, with all their officers, surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and thus closed the mighty struggle of this eventful day.

The field being cleared of the enemy, and night approaching, the duke ordered the army to be drawn up, with the left extending to Sonderen, the right towards Morselingen, and the soldiers to lie all night under arms, on the field of battle. They quickly possessed themselves of the enemy's tents, with great quantities of vegetables. Nearer the Danube lay about a hundred oxen, which were to have been distributed to the hostile troops. These were no unwelcome booty to the victorious soldiers, after their long and hard service.

After this, his grace gave orders for dressing the wounded, and putting them under cover. Then he made a repartition of the prisoners, who amounted to eleven or twelve thousand men. The enemy had at least as many more killed and wounded. These prisoners, with their generals, being divided and disarmed, were ordered to the adjacent villages, in the rear of our army, guarded by several squadrons of horse and dragoons.

During the whole of this tremendous conflict, the duke of Marlborough exerted himself with his characteristic coolness, vigilance, and energy, superintending the manœuvres in every part, and appearing in every point where the presence of the general was necessary, to revive the courage, to restore the order, or to direct the attacks of his troops. The author of the Campaign * has caught the spirit of his hero, and described the effect of his superintending direction in language equal to the subject: †

* Addison.

† For the account of the battle we have consulted the private letters of the duke, in the Blenheim Collection and State Paper Office

'Twas then great Marlborough's mighty soul was proved,
That in the shock of charging hosts unmov'd,
Amidst confusion, horror, and despair,
Examin'd all the dreadful scenes of war:
In peaceful thought the field of death survey'd,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid;
Inspir'd repuls'd battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage.
So when an angel by divine command,
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land;
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;
And, pleas'd the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.

— Hare's Journal of the Campaign, MS. — and the official documents and correspondence in the Gazette — the History of Europe — and Lamberti — also the different Lives of Marlborough in english, french, german, and dutch — as well as the Lives of Eugene and Marlborough, and the Histoire du Prince Eugene — Dumont's Military History — Campagnes de Tallard et de Marsin — Quincy — Milner's Journal of Marlborough's Campaigns — Boyer's History of Queen Anne — Cunningham — Tindal — and Daniel's Histoire de France — Historical Account of some british regiments published by Grose, and improved in the British Military Library — Grimoard and Feuquieres — with the Dictionnaire des Battailles, &c.

For the plan of the battle of Blenheim, the reader is referred to the Atlas.

A List of the principal Generals and Officers of the Confederate Army, who were engaged in the Battle of Blenheim ---(From the Order of Battle.)

ARMY OF MARLBOROUGH.

His Grace the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

Captain General of the QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN'S Forces, &c. &c.

Generals:

Cavalry of the right wing; PRINCE MAXIMILIAN of HANOVER.

Infantry; ANHALT, DESSAU, and CHURCHILL.

Cavalry of the left; PRINCE of HESSE.

Lieutenant Generals:

Cavalry of the right wing; PRINCE of DURLACH.

Infantry; HOORN, INGOLSBY, LORD CUTTS.

Cavalry of the left; DUKE of WIRTEMBERG, HOMPESCH, and LUMLEY.

Major Generals:

Cavalry of the right wing; FUGGER, and NATZMER.

Infantry; FINK, HOLSTEINBECK, WITHERS, HERBEVILLE, and WILKS.

Cavalry of the left; RANTZAU, NOYELLES, ERBACH, SCHULEMBURG, AUROCHS, and WOOD.

Brigadier Generals:

Infantry; BIELK, HEIDENBRECHT, WULFEN, HULSEN, ROWE, and FERGUSON.

Cavalry of the left wing; RANTZAU, BALDWIN, and ROSS.

ARMY OF PRINCE EUGENE.

PRINCE EUGENE, *Field Marshal* of the EMPEROR.

Generals:

Cavalry of the right wing; his Highness the reigning DUKE of WURTEMBERG.

Cavalry of the left; COUNT de la TOUR.

Lieutenant Generals:

Cavalry of the right wing; MARQUIS de CUZANI, and PRINCE of BAREUTH.

Infantry; SCHOLTEN, and LORD ORKNEY.

Cavalry of the left; COUNT OOST FRIEZE, and BULOW.

Major Generals:

Cavalry of the right wing; CARAFFA, and BIERA

Infantry; RANTZAU, ST. PAUL, and LUC.

Cavalry of the left; VITTINGHOFF, PRINCE of HESSE HOMBURG, and VILLIERS.

Brigadier Generals:

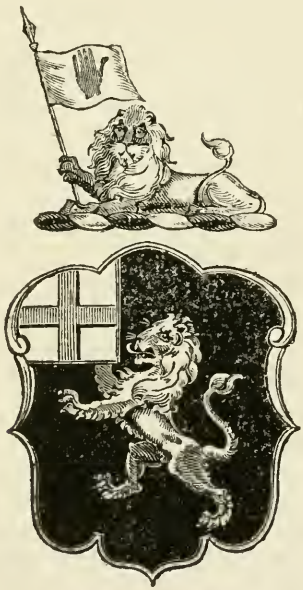
Infantry; REBSDORFF, CANITZ, BERNSDORFF, STECKENDORFF, HULSEN, and WEBE.

Cavalry of the left; BROCKDORFF, GRŒVENDORFF, and BOTHMAR.

APPENDIX.

N° I.

GRANT of an Honorary Augmentation to the Arms of WINSTON CHURCHILL, Esq., by Charles the Second, 1661.



To all and singular unto whom these Presents shall come S^r E^d Walker K^t Garter Principall King of Armes of Englishmen sendeth Greeting. Whereas our Sovereign L^d King Charles the 2^nd takeing into his princely consideration the many great and eminent services donne unto him and his late royall father

King Charles the first of ever blessed memory, by many of their loyal subjects, both in the late unhappy divisions and untill the time of his Mats most happy restauracõn; and being desirous to testify by some signall marks unto posterity the value and esteeme hee hath of theire courage constancy and fidelity, by assigning them some such Additions and Augmentacõns out of his Royal Arms and Badges, as may be properly borne for the honour of them and their posterities amongst whom his Matie having taken especiall notice That Winston Churchill of Menterne in the County of Dorsett Esq. did from the beginning of the late unhappy divisions actively apply himself unto the service of his late Matie and being a captaine of horse did with great courage and fidelity behave himself at the battailes of Lansdowne Rondway Downe Cropedy† * * * * * as also at the seidge of Taunton and defence of the City of Bristoll and that for many years since he hath suffered both in his person and estate for his constant loyalty, and is now a member of the hoble House of Comons. It hath therefore pleased his Matie by his Warrant under his Signe Manuall bearing date the 5th day of December past therein reciting the above mentioned services and sufferings, to require and authorise me (that whereas he the said Winston Churchill bears for the Paternall Coate of his Family, Sable a Lyon Rampant Argent, under a Bend Gules) to assign him by way of Augmentacõn upon a Canton Argt a Crosse Gules, and to authorise him to leave out the Bend. Know Ye therefore That I the said Sr Ed Walker Kt Garter Principall King of Armes by the particular power and authority given unto me by His Majtie to that purpose Doe hereby give grant and assigne unto him the said Winston Churchill Esq. the Augmentacõns above mentioned, with authority to omitt and leave out the Bend Gules and because it happens (as it doeth to many ancient families) that he hath not any Creast I doe further by the power and authority annexed unto my office of Gr give grant and assigne unto him the Creast hereafter mentioned, vizt Upon an helmet proper mantled Gules doubled Argt and wreath of his Collours a Lyon *Couchant* Gardant Argent supporting a Banner Gules charged wth a right hand Argent the Staff Or. As in the Margent more lively is depicted wch Augmentacõn and Creast the said Winston Churchill and the

† The words here are illegible, but one seems to be Glocester.

heirs and descendants of his body for ever (bearing theire due and proper differences) may and shall lawfully use bear and sett forth togeather with the Coate of Armes as is above depicted at all times and upon all occasions without the lett or interruption of any person whatsoever. In Witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seale of my office, the twentieth day of January in the 13 year of the reigne of o^r^ Sovereign L^d^ C^h^ the 2^d^ by the Grace of God King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland Defender of the Faith Annoq. D^ni^ 1661.

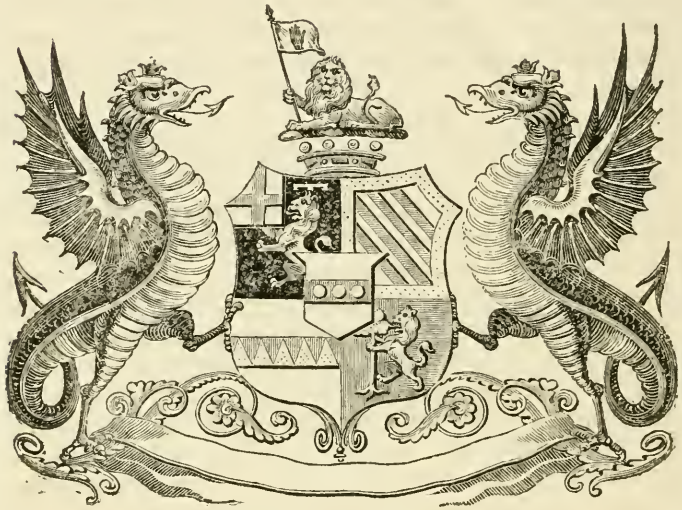
The aforegoing is a true Copy from a Book marked R 23, now remaining in the College of Arms, London.

(*Signed*) GEORGE NAYLER, York Herald,
May 5th, 1817. Genealogist of the Bath.

N. B. By mistake in the docquets of this Grant, now remaining in the College of Arms, the Lion in the Crest is drawn *sejant*, not *couchant*, as expressed in the Grant, and this mistake has been copied by many heraldic authors.

N° II.

GRANT OF SUPPORTERS TO JOHN BARON CHURCHILL OF SANDRIDGE, BY JAMES THE SECOND, 1685.



To all and singular to whom these Presents shall come Sir William Dugdale Knight Garter Principal King of Arms sendeth Greeting. Whereas our Sovereign Lord King James the Second, taking into his princely consideration the special merits and long and faithful services of John Lord Churchill of Aumouth in the kingdom of Scotland, one of the gentlemen of his Ma^ties bedchamber (and now major general of all his Ma^ties forces both horse and foot) as also y^e great esteem which their late Ma^ties King Charles the First and King Charles the Second had of the merits and services of Sir Winston Churchill Knight, father of the said John Lord Churchill, hath been graciously pleased by his Letters Patent bearing date at Westm^r the 14^th day of May in the first year of his reign to create the said John Lord Churchill a baron of this realm by the title of baron Churchill of Sandridge in Coñ Hertford. To have and to hold the name state degree style dignity title and hono^e of Baron

Churchill of Sandridge, to him the said John Lord Churchill and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten for ever; with all rights privileges preheminencies and immunities to a baron belonging as by the said Letters Patent it doth and may more fully appear. And whereas it is an especiall and more peculiar right and preheminence belonging to the peers of this Kingdome to have certain Supporters added to their Arms for their greater honoe and to distinguish them from persons of an inferior rank. Know Ye therefore that I the said Sir William Dugdale Knt Garter Principal King of Arms by the power and authority annexed unto my said office, and having had therein the allowance and approbation of his Grace Henry Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshall of England have devysed and do by these Presents grant and assign unto the said John Lord Churchill and to the heirs male of his body lawfully having and enjoying the said honoe and dignity the Supporters hereafter mentioned vizt On either side a Wivern Gules the Wings expanded as in the margin of these Presents more lively is depicted. Which Supporters he the said John Lord Churchill, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten having and enjoying the said Title and Dignity may and shall lawfully bear and use at all times and upon all occasions, according to the Law of Arms without the lett or interruption of any person whatsoever. In Witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of my office this 27 day of July in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second by ye Grace of God, King of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etca Annoq. Dni 1685.

(*Signed*) WILLM DUGDALE, GARTER.

(*Exd*)
JOHN DUGDALE, WINDSOR.
Gr King, R. Dr Regem

A true Copy of the Record now remaining in the College of Arms, London. Witness my hand this 29th day of April 1817.

(*Signed*) GEORGE NAYLER, YORK HERALD.
Genealogist of the Bath.

N° III.

LICENCE TO GEORGE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH THAT HE AND HIS ISSUE MAY TAKE AND USE THE NAME AND ARMS OF CHURCHILL IN ADDITION TO THOSE OF SPENCER.

IN THE NAME AND ON THE BEHALF OF HIS MAJESTY,

GEORGE *P. R.*

George the Third by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty and well-beloved Henry Thomas Howard Molyneux Esquire, Deputy to our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, Bernard Edward Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal and our Hereditary Marshal of England Greeting. Whereas our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin George Spencer Duke of Marlborough Marquess of Blandford, Earl of Sunderland and Marlborough, Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, Baron Churchill of Sandridge, and a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, hath by his Petition humbly represented unto Us that his great grandfather Charles Spencer Earl of Sunderland and Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, intermarried with Anne second daughter and coheir of that illustrious hero John Churchill Duke of Marlborough, Marquess of Blandford, Earl of Marlborough, Baron Churchill of Sandridge, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, that by an Act of Parliament made in the third and fourth years of the reign of our predecessor Queen Anne, in order to perpetuate the memory of the glorious victories obtained by the forces of her Majesty and her allies under the command of the said John Duke of Marlborough, and the eminent and unparalleled services performed by the said Duke, it was enacted that the Honour and Manor of Woodstock and Hundred of Wootton should be granted to him and to his heirs, to be held of the Crown in fee and common soccage, by fealty rendering on the 2d day of August in every year for ever, one Standard or Colour with three Fleur de Lis painted thereupon;

and by a further Act of Parliament made in the fifth year of the reign of her aforesaid Majesty, in order that the name and titles of the said Duke might be continued to all his posterity, it was enacted that the dignities titles and honours of Duke of Marlborough, Marquess of Blandford, Earl of Marlborough, and Baron Churchill, should be limited to the eldest daughter of the said duke and the heirs male of her body, and in default thereof to all his other daughters successively, according to their priorities of birth and the heirs male of their respective bodies, and that the Honour and Manor of Woodstock, the House of Blenheim and other lands should be annexed to and descend with the said honours and dignities, that his Majesty King George the First was graciously pleased by warrant under his Royal Signet and Sign Manual bearing date the nineteenth day or July 1722. to command that the standard or colours belonging to the Honour or Manor of Woodstock should be set forth and blazoned in the following manner, that is to say, Azure three flowers de Lis Or in a shield placed by way of Inescocheon on the Cross of St. George according to the draft thereunto annexed; And that the same should be thenceforward borne either in a Shield Standard or Banner, as belonging to the said Honour and Manor of Woodstock, which said Banner was accordingly borne and used in obedience to the said royal command, at the funeral of the said John Duke of Marlborough solemnised in Westminster Abbey on the ninth day of August in the same year; That on the decease of the said John Duke of Marlborough the aforesaid honours and dignities descended to his eldest daughter, Henrietta Countess of Godolphin, who thereupon became Duchess of Marlborough, &c.; That upon her decease, without surviving male issue, on or about the twenty-fourth day of October 1733. the aforesaid dignities devolved upon the Petitioner's grandfather Charles Earl of Sunderland, together with the said Honour and Manor of Woodstock and the House of Blenheim, and from his said grandfather they have passed, together with the aforesaid dignity of a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, in a regular course of descent to the Petitioner; That the Petitioner being anxious to perpetuate in his family a surname to which his illustrious ancestor John Duke of Marlborough by a long series of heroic and transcendant achievements added such imperishable lustre, is desirous with our gracious permission to take and henceforth use the

surname of Churchill, in addition to that of Spencer, to bear the arms of Churchill quarterly in the first quarter with his Paternal Arms, together with a representation of the Bearings on the Standard or Colours granted by the aforesaid Warrant of his Majesty King George the First, as belonging to the Honour or Manor of Woodstock, in an Inescocheon over all in the Centre Chief Point, and also henceforward to bear and use the Supporters borne and used by the said John Duke of Marlborough. The Petitioner therefore most humbly prays our Royal Licence and Authority, that he and his issue may henceforth take and use the Surname of Churchill, in addition to and after that of Spencer, that he and they may bear the arms of Churchill quarterly in the first quarter with the Arms of Spencer, together with a representation of the Bearings on the Standard or Colours belonging to the Honour or Manor of Woodstock in an Inescucheon over all in the Centre Chief Point, and that the Petitioner and his descendants upon whom the aforesaid dignities and honours of Duke of Marlborough &c^{a} shall devolve may bear and use the Supporters borne and used by his said illustrious ancestor John the first Duke of Marlborough, in lieu of the Supporters hitherto borne by the Petitioner. Know Ye that We of our princely grace and special favour, have given and granted and by these Presents do give and grant unto him the said George Duke of Marlborough, our Royal Licence and Authority, that he and his issue may henceforth take and use the Surname of Churchill in addition to and after that of Spencer, that he and they may bear the arms of Churchill quarterly, in the first quarter with the Arms of Spencer, together with a representation of the bearings on the Standard or Colours belonging to the Honour or Manor of Woodstock in an Inescocheon over all in the Centre Chief Point, and that the Petitioner and his descendants, upon whom the aforesaid dignities and honours of Duke of Marlborough &c^{a} shall devolve, may bear and use the Supporters borne and used by his said illustrious ancestor John the first Duke of Marlborough in lieu of the Supporters hitherto borne by the Petitioner, such Arms being first duly exemplified according to the Laws of Arms, and recorded in the Herald's Office, otherwise this our Licence and Permission to be void and of none effect. Our will and pleasure therefore is, that you Henry Thomas Howard Molyneux Esquire, Deputy to our said Earl Marshal to whom

the cognisance of matters of this nature doth properly belong, do require and command that this our concession and declaration be recorded in our College of Arms, to the end that our officers of Arms and all others upon occasion may take full notice, have knowledge thereof, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Carleton House the twenty-sixth day of May 1817 in the fifty-seventh year of our reign.

By Command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent in the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty.

(*Signed*) SIDMOUTH.

The above is a true Copy from the original Royal Warrant now remaining in my possession.

Signed) GEORGE NAYLER, York Herald, Genealogist of the Bath.

College of Arms, London, 2d July, 1817.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Printed by Strahan and Spottiswoode,
Printers Street, London.

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